

***The Birth Pangs of Neo-Protestantism:
Hugh James Rose, Ernst Hengstenberg and the
Conservative Response to German Rationalism***

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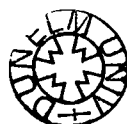
**Thesis submitted for the degree of
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**University of Durham
Department of Theology**

2000

19 JUN 2001



*Meinen Eltern,
Ingrid und Friedhelm Mosig,
in Liebe und Dankbarkeit
zugeeignet
and to my dear Doktorvater,
Dr. Sheridan Gilley - pectus est quod
theologum facit*

But you ask, 'how does our England please you?' If you trust me at all, dear Robert, I should wish you to trust me when I say that I never found a place I like so much. I find here a climate at once agreeable and extremely healthy, and such a quantity of intellectual refinement and scholarship, not of the usual pedantic and trivial kind either, but profound and learned and truly classical, in both Latin and Greek, that I have little longing left for Italy, except for the sake of visiting it ... It is marvellous to see what an extensive and rich crop of ancient learning is springing up here in England.

Erasmus of Rotterdam to Robert Fisher, 5 December 1499

If one studied theology in the first decade of this century at famous theological faculties within Germany, such as those of Tübingen, Halle or Berlin, one identified the history of theology in the last four centuries with the history of German theology. It started with the Lutheran Reformation, it accepted or rejected elements of the thought of the Swiss Reformers, Zwingli and Calvin. It experienced the doctrinal legalism of classical orthodoxy, the enthusiastic subjectivism of the pietistic protest, the slow dissolution of the dogma of the Reformation and of the Christian dogma generally under the rational criticism of the philosophers of the Enlightenment and their theological pupils, the beginnings of historical criticism with respect to the Old and New Testaments - a movement in which the great Lessing, the classical representative of German Enlightenment, played the central role. Of course, one knew that there was an orthodox period in Western Calvinism as well as in German Lutheranism; but one considered its contribution not so much in the doctrinal as in the practical realms, in church and world politics, in personal and social ethics, things of which one always and still is distrustful in German Lutheran theology. One also knew that there was pietism on Calvinist soil, that there was Methodism in England, and the great Awakening in America. But one did not value very highly the theological contributions of evangelical enthusiasm and its pietistic successors. None of them was any competition for the classical tradition in theology. One also knew that the ideas of the Enlightenment originated in England and France and not in Germany. But one argued that in Catholic France they could be used only in struggle against theology, not in support of it, and that British conformity was able to push the deistic criticisms of Bible and dogma into the background. It was our feeling that only in Germany was the problem of how to unite Christianity and the modern mind taken absolutely seriously.

All this was a mixture of limitation, arrogance, and some elements of truth. In the nineteenth century the belief that Protestant theology was German theology was not too far removed from the truth. The innumerable American theologians who studied in German universities in that century are witnesses to it. They usually speak more enthusiastically about the German theologians of their time than do the Germans themselves. It was the new foundation given to Protestant theology by Friedrich Schleiermacher that inaugurated this glorious period. It was the adaptation of Protestant theology to the modern mind by Ritschl and his widespread school that continued the leadership of German theology. When the greatest pupil of this school, Adolf Harnack, published his 'Wesen des Christentums' (What is Christianity?) in the year 1900, it was translated into more languages than any other book except the Bible, and the Leipzig railway station was jammed by freight trains carrying Harnack's book all over the world. And when the reaction started against the theology of which Harnack's book is most representative, it was first Ernst Troeltsch in Germany and then Karl Barth in Switzerland and Germany who were the leaders. No wonder a German student of theology in the first decades of our century believed that Protestant theology is identical with German theology. It is not astonishing that he became provincial, since the province in which he lived was so large, important, and seemingly self-sustaining.

Paul Tillich, *Theology of Culture*, 1959

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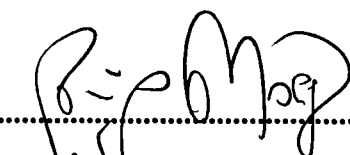
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Declaration

I confirm that the thesis conforms with the prescribed word length for the degree for which I am submitting it for examination.

I confirm that no part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or any other university. If material has been generated through joint work, my independent contribution has been clearly indicated. In all other cases material from the work of others has been acknowledged and quotations and paraphrases suitably indicated.

Signed:

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Date:

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11 July 2000
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Abstract

Jörg Manfred Gereon Mosig, The Graduate Society, University of Durham
***The Birth Pangs of Neo-Protestantism: Hugh James Rose, Ernst Hengstenberg and
the Conservative Response to German Rationalism***

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Durham
AD 2000

The main concern of this study, as outlined in Chapter 1.1, is with the crisis produced by Rationalism at the dawn of a new era in the history of Protestantism. This discussion concentrates upon the seemingly unlikely parallel of the High Churchman Hugh James Rose and the spokesman for the emerging Lutheran Confessional orthodoxy Ernst Hengstenberg in the critical definition of two distinct conservative theological systems. Chapter 1.2 gives an overall outline of the religious situation in early nineteenth-century Germany. In the light of Rose's negative reception of German biblical criticism, Chapter 1.3 looks at the historical significance of England for the developments of modern Biblical scholarship and by the same token defines the extent of the overall negative reception of Protestant Germany in Victorian England.

Chapter 2 deals with the English Orthodox reception of German Rationalism. Chapter 2.1 outlines the impact of German Protestantism on religious life and theological debate in nineteenth-century Britain. Chapter 2.2 concentrates on those theological developments which determined the pre-Tractarian High Church attitudes to German Lutheranism. Chapters 2.3 and 2.4 centre on Hugh James Rose and his significance for the nineteenth-century Anglican revival. Chapter 2.5 is a study of Rose's work on German Rationalism, *The State of the Protestant Religion in Germany* (1825).

Chapter 3 is a study of the German reception of Rationalism among Schleiermacher and the German Idealists (Chapter 3.1), the German Supernaturalists (Chapter 3.2) and the German Revival Movement (Chapter 3.3). The central objective of this chapter is the examination of Hengstenberg and his contribution to overcoming Rationalism (Chapters 3.4 and 3.5).

Chapter 4 discusses the conclusion. The aim of this study is to incorporate Rose and Hengstenberg's responses to German theological Rationalism, independent as they were, into a theological and historical understanding of the complex pan-European conservative counter-reaction to the new manifestation of Protestantism that was later to be known as *Neuprotestantismus*.

Acknowledgements

Originally I came to England just to have a 'year off' before taking up my position as curate in my Church, which was then the Evangelical Church of Westphalia. With the support of a scholarship of the Lutheran World Federation, Geneva, I was able to continue my studies at the University of Durham to take an M.A. degree in theological research in 1994-95. I look back on this year as marking a total and unexpected turning point in my life. At the end of the M.A. course in Durham, I was offered a Postgraduate Research Studentship by the University of Durham to work for my doctorate. Thus my debt is first of all due to the University of Durham and in particular to the Department of Theology, which also awarded me several grants during my research work, namely the Van Mildert Endowed Scholarship and the De Bury Endowed Scholarship in 1995, the Jenkyns Scholarship in 1996 and the De Bury Endowed Scholarship in 1997. Within the Department, I should like to thank Dr. Alan Suggate, formerly Director of Postgraduate Studies who helped tremendously in opening the way for me to attempt my Ph.D. research at Durham. My thanks are also due to Mrs Margaret Parkinson, the Postgraduate admission secretary and 'gute Seele' of the Department, for always keeping a cool head and bringing a sense of worldly wisdom to Abbey House. Her cheerful patience, support and friendship are much appreciated.

I have incurred many debts. During my original researches, the Rt Rev'd Dr. Geoffry Rowell, Anglican Bishop of Basingstoke, Dr. John Walsh of Jesus College, Oxford, Dr. Jane Garnett of Wadham College, Oxford, the late Professor Colin Mathew of Christ Church, Oxford and my friend Prof. Peter Erb of the Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada, helped me with a number of suggestions. I am also particularly indebted to Dr. Peter Nockles, whose work on pre-Tractarian High Churchmanship had been a decisive inspiration to my research, and to my old teacher Prof. Dr. Johannes Wallmann who even after his retirement kept a kind interest in my academic progress.

Throughout the course of my research, I depended upon the helpful staff and useful collections at several libraries and archives, including the Durham University Library, the Chapter Library of Durham Cathedral, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Library of Lambeth Palace, the Library of Ushaw College, Durham, the Library of St. Chad's College, Durham, the Library of King's College London, the Universitätsbibliothek of the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn and the Seminar Bibliothek der Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Ruhr Universität Bochum in Germany. Mention should also be made of Herrn Dr Thomas Müller, the Archivist of the Frankesche Stiftung, Halle, who gave me some valuable material on microfilm free of charge. I am indebted to the Principal and Governors of Pusey House, Oxford and the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge for the use of their archives and for permitting me to

quote from the latter. Finally, I shall remember with fondness the staff of the Palace Green Library of Durham University and my 'room with a view' in the gallery in Bishop Cosin's Library which provided me with a stimulating panorama of the forecourt of one of the finest buildings in this country.

Some of the research was done in Cambridge and Oxford. I appreciate the financial support that was provided by the Dean's Fund, the Faculty of Arts, Durham University in 1996 and a Research Scholarship from the German Historical Institute, London in 1997. Several friends have generously provided accommodation during research trips, Hugh Strathern in Cambridge and Philip Robinson in Oxford, and I want to express particular gratitude to the Sisters of the Work at Littlemore for their warm hospitality. I am grateful to my friends Henning Waskönig, Alexander Bray and the Rev'd Charles Clapham, who provided me with some material from their university libraries, and to Stefano Leonardi who took an enormous amount of time to make the attached illustrations presentable. The draft has been read in whole or in part by the Rev'd Neil Evans, Matthew Clark and Michael Dunne. I am extremely grateful for their helpful observations whenever my English usage was carried away by my Germanic cast of mind.

I would like to thank the Master of Grey College, Durham for awarding me a Moral Tutorship which enabled me to enjoy the social dimension of

university life at Durham. I gained much from a characteristic feature of the British university system that is very neglected in Germany, that is the social dimension of teaching and research.

Durham, probably more than any other place, has become for me an important cross-roads where the paths of my 'life story' decisively helped to set the agenda of my 'faith story'. Durham is the place where I spiritually came home; it was here where I was finally received into the Catholic Church. I am grateful to the support and example of a number of Catholic and even a few Anglican friends and 'pastors' I had met at Durham, such as Fran Brearton, Tony Currer, now seminarist at the English College in Rome, Father Jim Overton, now rector at Allen Hall, London, the Very Rev'd Dr. John Arnold, the Dean of Durham Cathedral and the Rt. Rev'd Dr. Peter Selby, now Anglican Bishop of Worcester. All of them helped me in different ways to overcome those doubts and hesitations which previously had held me back from my 'path to Rome'.

My most grateful thanks I reserve for my dear supervisor, Dr. Sheridan W. Gilley. Only the unspoken is true. However, at the very least, the friendship of Dr. Gilley and his family has been one of my greatest privileges in my time in England. Throughout my research, but in particular at the final stages and struggles in the completion of this study he has shown an encouragement and help which makes him a *Doktorvater* in the true meaning of the word. Furthermore, Dr. Gilley helped enormously in

providing a literary platform for me. It was through his recommendation that I was able to contribute a number of articles to the new edition of the prestigious *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* and to the *Month* and the *Heythrop Journal*.

I am grateful to all of the above, and others whom there is not space to mention, for help of various kinds, direct and indirect. All faults or poor judgements in this work remain, however, very much my own.

Finally, I would like to express my deep appreciation to my parents, Ingrid and Friedhelm Mosig, for their unending faith, support and encouragement: to them and to my dear supervisor this work is dedicated in Liebe und Dankbarkeit.

sero, sed serio

List of Abbreviations

<i>AC</i>	<i>The Augburg Confession</i>
<i>AEH</i>	<i>Anglican and Episcopal History</i>
<i>AZ</i>	<i>Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
<i>BELK</i>	<i>Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch lutherischen Kirchen</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>Confessio Augustana</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>GHIL</i>	<i>German Historical Institute London</i>
<i>JRH</i>	<i>Journal for Religious History</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>L & D</i>	<i>Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman</i>
<i>LThK</i>	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i>
<i>LW</i>	<i>Luther's Work. American Edition of Luther's Work</i>
<i>NDNB</i>	<i>New Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>ODCC</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i>
<i>RGG 3</i>	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, third edition</i>
<i>RGG 4</i>	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, fourth edition</i>
<i>SPCK</i>	<i>The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge</i>
<i>STA</i>	<i>Martin Luther Studienausgabe</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>

Note

All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. The spelling of geographical places are adapted to English usage whereas Christian names remain in their original form.

List of Illustrations

- p. 38: Immanuel Kant, Archiv für Kunst und Geschichte, Berlin
- p. 38: Friedrich II of Prussia, Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, engraving by Johann Friedrich Bause from the painting by Anton Graff.
- p. 38: Johann Salomo Semler, Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte.
- p. 130: Hugh James Rose, circa 1833, Department of Theology, University of Durham.
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Greschat, Martin (ed.), *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte*, 12
vols, vol. 9.1 *Die neueste Zeit* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz:
Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1985), p.248
- p. 293: Halle, engraving, circa 1800
- p. 293: University of Halle, engraving, circa 1800
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(5 December 1829)

1. The Birth Pangs of Neo-Protestantism

1.1 The conservative response to Theological Rationalism: or the birth pangs of Neo-Protestantism

This study is predicated on the assumption that established Protestantism in Germany faced a severe crisis of identity in the period after the Enlightenment. Johann Gottfried Herder's (1744-1803) famous ironic portrayal of the prevailing state of the late eighteenth-century Evangelical Church as the "Bildungsakademie für Bürger und Untertanen Sr. Majestät"¹ anticipated in many respects an ecclesiological dilemma which emerged as the great and lasting problem of nineteenth-century Protestant theology; that is to say, in the light of a changed intellectual climate the definition of the Church herself was increasingly called into question. As Emanuel Hirsch (1888-1972) has emphasised:

¹Johann Gottfried Herder, An Prediger. Fünfzehn Provinzialblätter (1774), in: Johann Gottfried Herder, *Werke. Theologische Schriften*, Christoph Bultmann and Thomas Zippert (ed.), 10 vols, vol. 9.1 (Frankfurt: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1994), p. 80. [educational academy for citizens and subjects of his majesty].



Der Geschichte der evangelischen Theologie und Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert haftet die Eigentümlichkeit an, daß in einem Maße, welches keinem früheren Zeitalter, auch nicht dem der Reformation, bekannt ist, die Kirche selber, ihr Wesen, ihre Aufgabe, ihre Gestalt und Ordnung, ihr Verhältnis zum Staat und zum allgemeinen Leben überhaupt, der Gegenstand, wo nicht gar Mittelpunkt theologischen und kirchlichen Urteilens und Handelns wird.²

Of all the new approaches and departures in theology it was above all the school of theological Rationalism which, coming from the Enlightenment and almost untouched by Romanticism and Idealism, dominated the religious life of early nineteenth-century Germany.³ The development of Rationalism owed much to the influence of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Since the close of the eighteenth century, no German theologian, as Wallmann has stated, could overlook the philosopher from Königsberg.⁴ In his famous treatise *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*⁵ (first edition 1793), Kant distinguished the three schools which came immediately from the Enlightenment as follows:

²Emanuel Hirsch, *Geschichte der neueren evangelischen Theologie im Zusammenhang mit den allgemeinen Bewegungen des europäischen Denkens*, third edition, 5 vols, vol. 5 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1964), p. 145. [The history of nineteenth-century Evangelical theology and Church was shaped by one particular characteristic, that to an extent which was unknown to any previous epoch, even the Reformation, the Church herself, her essence, her destiny, her form and order, her relation to the state and public life in general, became an object if not the focal point of theological and ecclesiastical reflection and action.]

³On Rationalism see *ibid.*, pp. 3-70.

⁴See Johannes Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands seit der Reformation*, second, revised edition (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1998), p. 174.

⁵[Religion within the limits of pure reason].

Religion ist (subjektiv betrachtet) das Erkenntnis aller unserer Pflichten als göttlicher Gebote. Diejenige, in welcher ich vorher wissen muß, daß etwas ein göttliches Gebot sei, um es als meine Pflicht anzuerkennen, ist die geoffenbarte (oder einer Offenbarung benötigte) Religion: dagegen diejenige, in der ich zuvor wissen muß, daß etwas Pflicht sei, ehe ich es für ein göttliches Gebot anerkennen kann, ist die natürliche Religion. - Der, welcher bloß die natürliche Religion für moralisch notwendig, d. i. für Pflicht erklärt, kann auch der Rationalist (in Glaubenssachen) genannt werden. Wenn dieser die Wirklichkeit aller übernatürlichen göttlichen Offenbarung verneint, so heißt er Naturalist; läßt er nun diese zwar zu, behauptet aber, daß sie zu kennen und für wirklich anzunehmen zur Religion nicht notwendig erfordert wird, so würde er ein reiner Rationalist genannt werden können; hält er aber den Glauben an dieselbe zur allgemeinen Religion für notwendig, so würde er der reine Supernaturalist in Glaubenssachen heißen können.⁶

In the 1790s the age of Neology had gradually turned into an era dominated by the theological conflict between Rationalism and Supernaturalism. The tensions and questions which arose from Kant's philosophy of religion concerning the question of revelation led to the segregation of two

⁶Immanuel Kant, *Die Religion innerhalb der bloßen Vernunft* (1794), in Wilhelm Weischedel (ed.), *Immanuel Kant. Werkausgabe*, 12 vols, vol. 8 *Die Metaphysik der Sitten*, ninth edition (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp-Taschenbuch, 1991), pp. 822-823. [Immanuel Kant, *Religion within the Limits of reason alone* (1793), trans. Theodore M. Greene and Hoyt H. Hudson (Chicago/London: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1934), pp. 142-143: "Religion is (subjectively regarded) as the recognition of all duties as divine commands. That religion in which I must know in advance that something is a divine command in order to recognize it as my duty, is the revealed religion (or the one standing in need of a revelation); in contrast, that religion in which I must first know that something is my duty before I can accept it as a divine injunction is natural religion. He who interprets natural religion alone as morally necessary, i.e, as duty, can be called the rationalist (in matters of belief); if he denies the reality of all supernatural divine revelation he is called a naturalist; if he recognizes revelation, but asserts that to know and accept it as real is not a necessary requisite to religion, he could be named a pure rationalist; but if he holds that belief in it is necessary to universal religion, he could be named the pure supernaturalist in matters of faith."].

contrasting schools, "nicht durchgehend und folgerichtig, sondern mit mancherlei Abschattungen, Vermittlungen und Übergängen, immerhin aber doch so deutlich, daß es das Gesicht von Theologie und Kirche bestimmt."⁷ Despite their intense mutual feuding, both schools Rationalism and Supernaturalism were closely related and their differences were anything but clear. Supernaturalism also depended heavily on Kant's philosophy of religion. It was Kant's restriction of the cognition of reason to the area of nature from which the supernaturalists thought it justified to deduce the necessity of a supernatural revelation. "Eine Vermischung von modern kritischer Philosophie mit dogmatischem Konservatismus" as Wallmann has passed on the historical judgement on that school, "die keine Zukunft besaß."⁸ The rationalists, on the other hand, resolutely disputed the necessity of any supernatural revelation and exalted reason as the absolute critical authority and corrective to the traditional teaching of the Church. Yet contrary to widely held misconceptions to which, as will appear, Rose also succumbed, the German Rationalist theologians earnestly considered themselves Christians and many of them occupied senior ecclesiastical positions. Thus the extreme naturalism of a Karl Friedrich Bahrdt (1741-

⁷Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, p. 7. [not throughout and consistent but with manifold nuances, mediations, and crossings, yet clear enough to determine the appearance of theology and the Church].

⁸Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 174. [A blending of modern critical philosophy with dogmatic conservatism that had no future]. The significance of the supernaturalists for the development of German Protestant theology is further explored in Chapter 3.2.

1792)⁹, whom Wallmann has labelled the "Enfant terrible der deutschen Aufklärungstheologie"¹⁰ lacked the merit to succeed and remained a matter of peripheral importance for the theological development in post-enlightened Germany. In 1779, Bahrdrdt became a lecturer at the University of Halle, after he was removed from office as *Generalsuperintendent* in Dürkheim for heresy in the preceding year. In his radicalism, Bahrdrdt saw Jesus as a naturalist and founder of a secret order, and this, as much as his boundless ridicule of the Church, provoked a lasting controversy with Johann Salomo Semler (1725-1791) and the other Halle neologists. After the death of Friedrich II in 1786, he was finally forced to give up his lectures altogether. Hirsch has described Bahrdrdt as a theologian who had been broken by his loss of belief in Christian revelation¹¹. His later life story makes him a rather tragic figure in the German Enlightenment. In 1789, Bahrdrdt was sentenced to prison in Magdeburg for publicly deriding the *Wöllnersche Religionsedikt*¹². He met his end as a landlord of a public house in Nietleben nearby Halle, where he had founded the *Deutsche Union*, a bizarre masonic organization.

Even though Rationalism, unlike the Enlightenment and Neology, does not have an outstanding representative, it by no means lacked original thinkers.

⁹On Karl Friedrich Bahrdrdt see *RGG* 3, vol. 1 (1957), col. 845, Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 108. 115-116.

¹⁰Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 174 [*enfant terrible* of the German theology of the Enlightenment].

¹¹See Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 4, p. 115.

The church historian Philipp Konrad Henke (1752-1809)¹³ is widely known as the actual pioneer of the Rationalist school. In 1793, he published his *Lineamenta institutionem fidei Christianae historico-criticarum*, an introduction to dogmatics which already presented all Rationalist propositions. For Henke, the transition from the religion of revelation to the religion of reason had one fundamental goal: "Es sei die Aufgabe", as Hirsch has put it, "von der auf Christus gerichteten Religion (in Christum religio), wie sie in der theologischen und kirchlichen Überlieferung herrschend geworden ist, zur Religion Christi (religio Christi), d.h. der in Christus selbst lebendigen Religion zurückzuführen."¹⁴

Among the leading Rationalists, apart from Henke, mention also should be made of another of the *enfants terribles* of contemporary Rationalism, Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob Paulus (1761-1851)¹⁵. Other Rationalists include the *Generalsuperintendent* of Gotha, Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider (1776-1848)¹⁶, the Saxon royal court preacher, Christoph Friedrich von

¹²See chapter 2.5.1.

¹³On Philipp Konrad Henke see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 11-14, *RGG* 3, vol. 3 (1959), col. 221.

¹⁴*Ibid.* [It was the task to go back from the religion which was directed to Christ (in Christum religio), as it prevailed in the tradition of theology and the Church to the religion of Christ (religio Christi), that is that religion which was alive in Christ himself.].

¹⁵On Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob Paulus see *RGG* 3, vol. 5 (1961), col. 192, Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 27-33.

¹⁶On Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider see *RGG* 4, vol. 1 (1998), col. 1755, Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 63-70.

Ammon (1766-1850)¹⁷, the *Generalsuperintendent* of Weimar, Johann Friedrich Röhr (1777-1848)¹⁸, known for his *Briefe über den Rationalismus*¹⁹ and his much praised funeral oration for Goethe, the church historian Ludwig Timotheus Freiherr von Spittler (1752-1810)²⁰, the pupils of Kant, Johann Heinrich Tieftrunk (1759-1837)²¹ and Wilhelm Traugott Krug (1770-1842)²² and finally Julius August Ludwig Wegschneider (1771-1848) and Wilhelm Gesenius (1786-1842) whose embroilment in the most notorious clash over Rationalism will be discussed in depth later on²³.

John Rogerson, in his work on Old Testament criticism in the nineteenth century, has pointed out that many leading biblical scholars with either Neologist or Rationalist credentials who occupied chairs in 1799 and who had been trained in the second half of the eighteenth century remained in their posts until well into the new century.

This was true of J. G. Eichhorn, professor of oriental languages at Göttingen 1788-1827, of J. G. Rosenmüller, professor at Leipzig, 1786-1815, and of J. S. Vater, professor at Halle, 1799-1809 and

¹⁷On Christoph Friedrich von Ammon see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 60-62, *RGG* 4, vol. 1 (1998), col. 415.

¹⁸On Johann Friedrich Röhr see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 17-20.

¹⁹[letters on Rationalism].

²⁰On Ludwig Timotheus Freiherr von Spittler see *RGG* 3, vol. 6 (1962), col. 260.

²¹Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, p. 15, [most important and astute pupils of Kant].

²²On Wilhelm Traugott Krug see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 14-15.

²³See Chapter 3.5.

again 1820-6, after a spell at Königsberg, 1809-20. J. P. Gabler was professor at Altdorf, 1785-1804 ... and at Jena, 1804-26, while H. E. G. Paulus was a professor for no fewer than 62 years, at Jena, 1789-93 (oriental languages) and 1793-1804 (theology), Würzburg, 1804-11 and Heidelberg, 1811-51.²⁴

At the same time, however, there were many signs of an enormous intellectual storm brewing in German Protestantism. As a result of the penetration of the complex nature of the Romantic *Zeitgeist*, the overall mood of the religious public turned gradually against the Rationalist understanding of faith and religion, and by the late 1820s it looked to many observers as though the intellectual supremacy of the Rationalist school was in jeopardy. Along a wide front, 'Rationalism' had even become a term of abuse, being chiefly held responsible for the deplorable state of ecclesiastical affairs in Germany.

The increasing intensity of the theological debate over the legacy of Rationalism is well documented in the *Unveränderliche Einheit der evangelischen Kirche*²⁵, an apologetic periodical founded by von Ammon in 1826. Alarmed by the current low profile of the Evangelical Churches, von Ammon intended to provide through his journal a literary platform for the theological vindication of the much discussed decline of Protestantism

²⁴John Rogerson: *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* (London: SPCK, 1984), p. 15-16.

²⁵[The invariable Unity of the Evangelical Church].

to a "sittliche Polizeianstalt"²⁶. In 1828, a lampoon with the pugnacious title *Der Rationalist kein evangelischer Christ*²⁷ issued the radical cry for an expulsion of the Rationalists from the Evangelical Churches, comparing the whole Rationalist party as such with the members of a family who had contracted a disease and whose serious condition made it absolutely imperative to put up a notice on their doors for everyone else to stay away.²⁸ Although in a subsequent review, von Ammon generally agreed with the anonymous polemical writer over some of his complaints, he felt himself by the same token obliged to warn vividly of the fatal consequences of imminent inner Protestant trench warfare for the unity of the Evangelical Churches, predicting the danger of greater chaos and even schism in the case of a systematic banishment of Rationalists from the Evangelical Churches.²⁹ Besides, Rationalism, as von Ammon maintained,

ist eine lang vorbereitete, eine von unseren Vätern schon gepflegte Frucht unserer Erziehung, unserer Bildung, unseres ganzen Zeitgeistes; wer es begreift und weiß, was das sagen will, der wird sich nicht umsonst bemühen, diesen Baum der Erkenntnis abzubauen und zu vertilgen, sondern seine Auswüchse und wilden Ranken beschneiden, daß er zu einem gesegneten Stamm des wahren, vernünftigen Christusglaubens heranwache und für die ganze Menschheit Früchte des Heils und Lebens bringe.³⁰

²⁶*Die unveränderliche Einheit der Evangelischen Kirche. Eine Zeitschrift von dem Oberhofprediger Christoph von Ammon*, vol. 3 (1828), p. 44. [moral police authority].

²⁷[The Rationalist no Evangelical Christian].

²⁸See Anon., *Der Rationalist kein evangelischer Christ* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1828), p. 98.

²⁹See *Unveränderliche Einheit*, vol. 3 (1828), pp. 69-80.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 75-76. [a fruit of our education, our culture and our whole *Zeitgeist* that was prepared a long time ago and already tended by our

Furthermore, von Ammon's journal clearly illustrates that the hostile reaction Rationalism evoked was not confined to an inner-Protestant opposition but went clearly beyond denominational and, as will appear, national and linguistic boundaries. Theological Rationalism already provided a target for the usual polemical apparatus of Roman Catholic argument against Protestantism. Even though in Germany the Catholic Church was not as adverse to the Enlightenment as in France or Spain, and had its exponents even among the higher clergy, such as Johann Michael Sailer (1751-1832), the celebrated Bishop of Regensburg³¹, Protestantism was on the whole far more open to the currents and challenges of the modern world of thought.³² The encounter between Protestant theology and the Enlightenment led here gradually to the development of new forms of theology and individual Christianity, namely the historico-critical exegesis and a life-of-Jesus-theology which was passionately at pains to correspond to the modern *Weltanschauung*. The Enlightenment undoubtedly marked an

fathers. The one who understands that and who knows what it means, will not trouble himself in vain to cut off and eradicate this tree of knowledge but lop its outgrowth and wild shoots so that it might grow up into blessed trunk of the true rational faith in Christ and might bear the fruit of salvation and life for the benefit of all mankind.].

³¹On the significance of Bishop Johann Michael Seiler for German church history, see: Georg Schwaiger, 'Johann Michael Sailer', in Martin Greschat (ed.), *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte*, 12 vols, vol. 9.1 *Die neueste Zeit I*. (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1985), pp. 59-72.

³²ODCC, p. 126, "The spirit of the 'Aufklärung' penetrated deeply into German Protestantism, where it disintegrated faith in the authority of the Bible and encouraged biblical criticism on the one hand and an emotional Pietism on the other."

epoch-making change in the pattern of Western theological thinking, and there is likely to be general agreement that from the late eighteenth century, German Protestantism led the way in this process of transformation, noticeably in the advances of biblical criticism, as a phenomenon sprung from the same roots.³³

However, the *Unveränderliche Einheit* was forced to devote almost as much space for the examination of the growing external, mainly Catholic debate over recent developments within the Evangelical Churches in Germany as to inner-Protestant controversies. Among those critical observers from the outside who were reviewed at length in von Ammon's organ was one Laurenz Hohenegger, professor of divinity and Catholic priest at Preßburg. Under the rather curious title *Zeichen der Zeit auch ein Beitrag zur Wiedervereinigung der getrennten christlichen Confessionen*³⁴, Hohenegger produced in 1823 a portrayal of the state of the Christian faith within German Protestantism which in its extremism at least deserves some respect for its apocalyptic imaginativeness. Hohenegger claimed that the

³³In this context, it is worth noting that the chief representatives of the philosophy of the German *Aufklärung*, such as Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Christian Thomasius, Christian Wolff, King Friedrich I of Prussia, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and the great keystone of the movement, Immanuel Kant, came without exception from Protestant backgrounds. This observation is the more significant considering the fact that in a dramatic change of roles the Enlightenment not only gave the final stroke for the emancipation but also for the victory of philosophy over the pre-eminence of theology which now lagged behind the historico-cultural developments and received a new impetus from philosophy.

prevailing Rationalist parties had tried to replace the Bible with the epic of Edda, to exclude the fear of God altogether from Christian ethics, to allow a moderate pleasure of sensual love both within and outside marriage, to dismiss monogamy as an obsolete prejudice, to glorify the hatred of Catholics and Jews as a Christian virtue and even to justify treacherous murder in some cases for its good intention. Pulpits were called bookshops of the people and it was suggested that the newspapers be read out from them.³⁵ In short, for Hohenegger, the Rationalist trend in German Protestant theology was a clear indication of the total renunciation of the Christian faith, and the eventual dissolution of the Evangelical Churches in Germany was therefore taken as something inevitable:

Man darf den Fall des Protestantismus mit Sicherheit erwarten, da wir keine Kirche mehr haben, sondern nur Kirchen. Ein großer Teil ihrer Lehrer könne den Namen der christlichen Kirche gar nicht mehr in Anspruch nehmen, der Protestantismus, als kirchlicher Körper, existiere gar nicht mehr, das Prinzip der Einheit sei das Prinzip des Despotismus, wie im Staate, so in der Kirche; in ihren innersten Fundamenten durch die Angriffe der Deisten auf die Bibel erschüttert, sei die Theologie des Protestantismus nichts, als reiner Naturalismus.³⁶

³⁴[Signs of the times. Another Contribution to the reunification of the divided Christian denominations].

³⁵See *ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

³⁶Cited in: *Unveränderliche Einheit*, vol. 1 (1826), p. 21. [One may expect the fall of Protestantism with certainty, for we do not have a church any more but only churches. A vast majority of its teachers did not meet any longer the necessary requirements for the name of the Christian Church. Protestantism as an ecclesiastical body did not exist any longer at all. The principle of unity was the principle of despotism as in the state so in the church. Shaken in its most inner foundations through the onslaught of the deists on the bible, the theology of Protestantism was nothing but pure Naturalism].

Even though von Ammon himself was aware of certain deplorable developments within the Evangelical Churches in Germany, he took those more indiscriminate assaults with a great deal of composure as a monstrous invention of mere confessional polemic. Unlike England, where, as he argued with great confidence, contemporary ecclesiastical history counted almost as many sects as the whole of Christianity all together, in Germany, Protestantism still constituted

der freiste, reinste, heiligste, folgenreichste Bund des Geistes und Herzens, der je auf Erden geweiht und geschlossen wurde; ein Bund, der uns mit den weisesten und besten Menschen aller Zeiten in Gemeinschaft setzt.³⁷

At the great spring book fair in Leipzig 1826, however, von Ammon's complacent remarks on the state of religious affairs in England saw a sweeping retort in the release of the German translation of Hugh James Rose's *Discourses* on the state of Protestantism in Germany, a work based on a series of four sermons preached before the University of Cambridge in May 1825. "German Protestantism", as Keith Robbins has stated in a recent lecture at the German Historical Institute London, "constituted a puzzling

³⁷Ibid., p. 38. ["the freest, purest, holiest, most momentous bond of the mind and heart, ever have been dedicated and entered on earth; a bond which places us in communion with wisest and best men of all times."].

phenomenon when viewed from an insular perspective"³⁸. In his portrayal of what he deemed the prevailing conditions of German Protestantism, Rose exposed an abhorrence which in its bluntness was unparalleled in the Anglo-German relations hitherto and even eclipsed the Catholic polemic of Hohenegger. In as striking a parallelism, Rose denounced German Rationalism to his fellow countrymen as a corrupting danger that was simply tantamount to the abdication of Christianity:

Such are the elements of which the Protestant world in Germany is, or was till a very recent period composed. It need not to be added, that the Protestant church of that country is the mere shadow of a name. For this abdication of Christianity was not confined to either the Lutheran or Calvinistic profession, but extended its baneful and withering influence with equal force over each. It is equally unnecessary to add, that its effects were becoming daily more conspicuous in a growing indifference to Christianity in all ranks and degrees of the nation.³⁹

Rose had gained his knowledge of German Protestantism from first hand experience while travelling through some of the German principalities in the previous year and according to Dean John William Burgon (1813-1888) it was particularly the state of religion and theology that Rose found in Prussia which had shocked him profoundly:

³⁸Keith Robbins, *Protestant Germany through British Eyes: A Complex Victorian Encounter. The 1992 Annual Lecture at the German Historical Institute London* (London: German Historical Institute London, 1992), p. 5.

³⁹Hugh James Rose, *The State of the Protestant Religion in Germany; In a Series of Discourses Preached before the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: J. Deighton & Sons, 1825), pp. 9-10.

It was the phenomenon of German Protestantism, as the system was to be seen at work in Prussia, which shocked his piety, aroused his worst fears, exercised his intellect. A rationalizing school, of which the very characteristic was the absolute rejection of a Divine Revelation, dominated at that time in Prussia, and furnished the subject of these pages with materials for raising his voice in solemn warning to his country men, at a time when in high places the fires of faith and love were burning very low.⁴⁰

The particulars of Rose's encounter with Protestant Germany have to be the subject of further investigation. The depth of antagonism which his four university sermons subsequently aroused in Germany shows that Rose's sweeping blow against Rationalism had landed straight on an ecclesiastical minefield. Moreover, the general picture of the religious situation in early nineteenth-century Germany, as outlined below, seems to suggest that Rose's concern, in spite of all the polemic insufficiencies which could be held against the *Discourses*, was not entirely without justification. By publicly putting on trial the constitutional state of German Protestantism from a pulpit in Cambridge, Rose contributed to shifting the problem from an exclusively German matter to an ecumenical pan-European affair; his involvement gave therefore the whole debate over Rationalism a new impetus.

Yet anxiety over the ecclesiastical dilemma of post-Enlightened German Protestantism had erupted in Germany itself long before Rose and his *Discourses* appeared on the scene, and the cry 'The Church in danger' was

⁴⁰John William Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, first edition, 2 vols.,

heard in many places. Controversy about the advance of Rationalism rumbled on and was brought to a sensational peak by Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg's (1802-1869) journalistic general attack in 1830. As editor for more than forty years (1827-1869) of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, Hengstenberg created the most influential organ of the conservative opposition to Rationalism in all its forms. In the 'Halle Denunciation', the most notorious clash between neo-Orthodoxy and Rationalism in Germany, Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach (1795-1877) savagely attacked in an article for the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* the Halle theologians Gesenius and Wegschneider, claiming that their theology was contrary to Scripture and the principal confessional documents of Lutheranism and caused disgust among students, and moreover, called upon the secular and ecclesiastical authorities to limit the *Lehrfreiheit*. Even though Friedrich Wilhelm III (1797-1840) of Prussia finally abstained from taking any disciplinary action against the accused Halle professors, in the long term the 'Halle Denunciation' marked a turning point in overcoming the supremacy of theological Rationalism in German Protestantism.

This study is not a history of German Rationalism. It is not even a history of the English reception of German Rationalism, for as my title implies the main concern of this thesis is with the crisis produced by Rationalism at the dawn of a new era in the history of Protestantism. Although the Romantic

Zeitgeist had brought forth a number of new intellectual currents which in their own ways contributed to overcoming finally the supremacy of theological Rationalism, this discussion concentrates upon the seemingly unlikely parallel of the High Churchman Rose and the spokesman for the emerging Confessional orthodoxy Hengstenberg in the critical reception of representatives of two distinct conservative theological systems. The aim of this study is to incorporate Rose and Hengstenberg's responses to German theological Rationalism, independent as they were, into a theological and historical understanding of the complex pan-european conservative counter-reaction to the new manifestation of Protestantism that was later to be known as *Neuprotestantismus*⁴¹.

While Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860)⁴², for instance, spoke of this new period within the history of Protestantism merely in Hegelian terms of a "allgemeinen Umschwung des prot. Bewußtseins"⁴³ it was not until Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923) that the concept of *Neuprotestantismus* was decisively defined. Troeltsch, convinced of the foreignness of Christianity in the modern world, distinguished between *Altprotestantismus*⁴⁴ which he, along with the Reformation, still regarded as belonging to the Middle Ages and *Neuprotestantismus*, on the other hand, which at least attempted to

⁴¹[neo-Protestantism]. On the church historical understanding of *Neuprotestantismus* see *RGG* 3, vol. 4 (1960), cols 1430-1432.

⁴²On Christian Ferdinand Baur see *RGG* 4, vol. 1 (1998), cols 1183-1185.

⁴³Cited in *RGG* 3, vol. 4 (1960), col. 1431. [general drastic change of Protestant awareness].

relate to the thought and values of modern culture. For Troeltsch, neo-Protestantism, triggered by Pietism and the Enlightenment and within the framework of the changed conditions of the modern world, was the urge to individualism aiming at the "Umsetzung des Protestantismus in eine philosophische Bildungsreligion"⁴⁵. Within the historical development of Protestantism, neo-Protestantism constitutes an extraordinarily complex matter divided into a variety of rather different phases, such as Enlightenment, Neology, Rationalism, German Idealism and Liberalism. Yet, despite the overall diversity of those eras which at different stages constituted the broader entity of neo-Protestantism, its common and lasting characteristic was a fundamental elevation of reason as the critical ground of cognition and basis for theological statements and religious deeds. By subjecting the dogmas of the Church to the judgement of reason, neo-Protestantism, as has been stated, called for an independent endeavour for the cognition of religious truth and by the same token gave space for individual shapings of faith: "An die Stelle des Glaubens trat die Religion, an die der Glaubensartikel traten 'leitende Ideen', in denen der N. in freier menschlicher Besinnung auf den Gehalt des Evangeliums, nach dem Wesen des Christentums fragend, es neu zu bestimmen suchte."⁴⁶ The radical

⁴⁴[elder Protestantism].

⁴⁵RGG 3, vol. 4 (1960), col. 1431. [conversion of Protestantism into a philosophical religion of education].

⁴⁶Ibid. [Religion took the place of faith and articles of faith were replaced by 'leading ideas' in which neo-Protestantism - in free human reflection of the content of the Gospel and asking for the essence of Christianity - tried to redefine it.].

historical change which took place in the transition from *Altprotestantismus* to *Neuprotestantismus* was a complex process which plunged Protestantism into its first substantial existential crisis. As Gottfried Hornig has put it:

Der von den westeuropäischen Ländern ausgehende machtvolle Prozeß der Aufklärung erfaßt ... alle Berreiche des geistigen und gesellschaftlichen Lebens, weil er die Absicht verfolgt, durch Wissenschaft, Bildung und Erziehung das Zeitalter der Vernunft und des Fortschritts heraufzuführen. Die Ideen geistiger und politischer Freiheit, religiöser Toleranz und des kritischen Vernunftgebrauchs gewinnen erhebliche Anziehungskraft. Die Aufklärung bewirkt eine Autoritätskrise, erschüttert die gesellschaftliche Institutionen. Von dieser Krise werden auch die Konfessionskirchen, die kirchlichen Lehrbekenntnisse und die traditionellen Formen der Theologie erfaßt.⁴⁷

Finally, in the nineteenth century the ecclesiastical relations between England and Germany were at a low ebb, largely marked by mutual indifference and a great deal of ignorance. Taking Britain's traditional tendency towards 'insular seclusion' into account, Stephen Neill has maintained that at the end of Napoleonic era "Britain, and the English Churches, were as much isolated from the continent of Europe as they had

⁴⁷Gottfried Hornig, 'Lehre und Bekenntnis im Protestantismus', in Carl Andresen (ed.), *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3 vols, vol. 3 *Die Lehrentwicklung im Rahmen der Ökumenizität* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck Ruprecht, 1988), p. 126. [The powerful process of the Enlightenment, which started in the western European countries, caught hold of all spheres of the intellectual and social life for it pursued the intention of bringing forward the Age of Reason and progress through science, culture and education. The ideas of intellectual and political freedom, religious tolerance and the critical usage of reason were strong attractions. The enlightenment caused a crisis of authority and shook social institutions. This crisis also seized the churches, the doctrinal formulae of faith and the traditional forms of theology.].

ever been in their history"⁴⁸. Having brought the Anglican-Lutheran relations to a real test in the late 1820s, Rose's pointed disassociation from German non-episcopal Protestantism might cast some light on the reasons why two ecclesiastical systems with a natural spiritual affinity became as a matter of historical fact so estranged. With such a focus, restrictions of space have meant that several related areas, including the manifold connections between the German neo-orthodox party and conservative Evangelicals in England⁴⁹ could not be accommodated in this work.

Indeed, Lutheran ecclesiology and an historical tradition of worship with a high emphasis on the Eucharist shows from a theological viewpoint far more correspondence with the Anglican tradition than divergence. Shortly after the accession of the German Lutheran George I (1714-1727) to the British throne, a translation of the Lutheran liturgy used by the Protestants of the Reformed churches in Germany was published anonymously in 1715 by one "late Gentleman-Commoner of Magdalen College in Oxford", mainly for the apologetic purpose of showing "how parallel and Corresponding the Lutherans of Germany are both in Principles and their

⁴⁸Stephen Neill and Tom Wright, *The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1986*, second edition (Oxford: University Press, 1988), p.1.

⁴⁹On the relation between German and English Evangelicalism see G. R. Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England* (London: Longmans & Co., 1911); David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

Liturgy to the Church of England"⁵⁰. From the same pen flowed almost contemporaneously another treatise on the history of the Lutheran Church in order to "unite all good Christians, in Opposition to the Principles of the Church of Rome, John Calvin and Theodore Beza". This essay also affirmed with great emphasis the correspondence of the new king's religion with the doctrine of the Church of England, enthusiastically declaring "that the Church of England, with the Doctrine of Luther, comes the nearest to the Religion of the primitive Christians of any upon Earth"⁵¹. In 1804, Richard Laurence (1760-1838), future archbishop of Cashel (1822), devoted his Bampton Lectures at Oxford to a theological substantiation of the closeness of the Anglican and Lutheran systems. In eight sermons, Laurence, a moderate High Church divine himself, made an attempt to interpret the general principles of the English Reformation and the articles of the Church of England according to their systematic origins and to prove those origins to be "manifestly Lutheran"⁵² as opposed to the common view

⁵⁰Anon., *The Lutheran Liturgy: Now us'd by the Protestants in the Reformed Churches of Germany, Prov'd to agree with the Rites and Ceremonies in the Several Offices of the Book of Common Prayer, us'd by the Church of England, Faithfully translated of the German Tongue, by a late Gentleman-Commoner of Magdalen College in Oxford*, second edition (London: J. Morphew, 1715), pp. 26-27.

⁵¹Anon., *The History of the Lutheran Church: Or the Religion of our present Sovereign King George Agreeable to the Tenets of the Church of England Being An Essay to unite all good Christians, in Opposition to the Principles of the Church of Rome, John Calvin, and Theodore Beza, By a Gentleman-Commoner of Magdalen College in Oxford*, third edition (London: J. Morphew: 1715), p. 32.

⁵²See Richard Laurence, *An Attempt to illustrate those Articles of the Church of England, which the Calvinists improperly consider as Calvinistical in Eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in*

of Anglican doctrine as being of Calvinist tendency.⁵³ This anti-Calvinist stance was echoed later by Rose who specifically acknowledged Laurence's lectures as "very valuable" in one of his two terminal divinity lectures, delivered in Bishop Cosin's Library at Durham.⁵⁴

However, despite occasional reaffirmations, Anglican-Lutheran ties remained delicate and the process of estrangement was fostered by increasing mutual fear of contact. Dieter Voll's statement that for generations Lutheran awareness connected Anglicanism with the idea of a Calvinist state church, whereas from the viewpoint of Canterbury, Wittenberg and Geneva appeared as good as identical⁵⁵ seems accurate. The entity of German Protestantism through Anglican eyes was generally perceived in extremely simplified terms as if it constituted a single phenomenon. In his meticulous biography of Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882), Henry Parry Liddon (1829-1890) gave a frank account of the

the year MDCCCIV at the Lecture Founded by J. Bampton, M.A. Canon of Salisbury (Oxford: J. Parker and J. Rivington, 1805), p. 25.

⁵³See Edward Harold Browne, *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles. Historical and Doctrinal*, thirteenth edition (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887), pp. 1-11.

⁵⁴See: Hugh James Rose, *The Study of Church History Recommended: Being the Terminal Divinity Lecture delivered in Bishop Cosin's Library, April 25, 1834 before the Right Rev., The Dean, The Chapter and the University of Durham* (London: J. G. & F. Rivington, 1834), p. 29. On Rose's remarks on the origins of the articles of the Church of England see pp. 29-38.

⁵⁵See Dieter Voll, *Hochkirchlicher Pietismus. Die Aufnahme der evangelikalen Tradition durch die Oxford-Bewegung in der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des neueren Anglikanismus* (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1960), p. 127.

largely negative image of German theology in early nineteenth-century England:

Ordinary Englishmen supposed the Protestantism of Germany to have remained stationary in the condition in which Luther had left it; and the Middle Ages themselves were not more a blank to the English mind than the three centuries of German religious history which has passed since the Reformation. ... German politics and German editions of the classics were welcomed in England; but the history, the results, the temper, and the tendencies of German Protestant theology were as little understood as though they had belonged to another and a distant continent, far beyond the pale of Christendom and civilisation.⁵⁶

⁵⁶Henry Parry Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, 4 vols, vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1894), p. 147.

1.2 The general picture of the religious situation in early nineteenth-century Germany

The transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century was a time of basic inner and external disruptions in Europe as result of the great revolution, which latently had been prefigured in the intellectual world long before it broke out in France; a world sank and a new age was brought forth in pain. Christianity and all Christian churches were dragged into the whirl of rushed events and basic changes. In the words of a contemporary witness, Conrad von Orelli, then *Domherr*⁵⁷ at the Predigerkirche in Zurich: "Wir leben in einer aeußerst bewegten Zeit, in Tagen mannichfaltiger Gaehrungen und Kaempfe ueber politische, philosophische, religioese Meinungen und Systeme."⁵⁸ In this period, church history shows such a close interconnection with the increasingly ramified cultural life of Europe that the remains of the unity of Western Christendom now altogether faded away; Christianity at this time was anything but uniform and unambiguous. There was, of course, another side to this. Around 1800, religion, of course, still played a significant role in European culture. In spite of manifold

⁵⁷[*canon*].

⁵⁸Conrad von Orelli, *Über den Kampf des Rationalismus mit dem Supernaturalismus. Eine Vorlesung gehalten in der Prosynode des Zürerischen Stadtcapitels* (Tübingen: C. F. Osiander, 1825), p. 1. [We live

indifference or even hostility, the Churches nevertheless sustained the life of the individual as well as of communities.

However, the general state of German Protestantism at the dawn of the nineteenth century was at first glance quite deplorable.⁵⁹ One observer in the early 1800s contended: "Es gibt in der heutigen Gesellschaft ganze Städte, welche über das Christentum soweit hinweg zu sein glauben, daß sie es für nichts anderes, als für einen abergläubischen Unrath, von den Vätern ererbt, ansehen und sich schämen, die Kirche zu besuchen."⁶⁰ This negative view corresponded with a Prussian Court rescript of 1802 which noticed a complete decline in religiousness; of all church services only baptism and confirmation were frequented by the people.⁶¹ In 1815, one Pastor Pflaum addressed an emotional appeal to the German Protestant clergy in which he described the unbelief of the people as a dangerous worm which had eaten deep in the body of the Protestant Church, "seine

in an extreme time, in days of manifold turmoils and fights over political, philosophical and religious opinions and systems].

⁵⁹On the religious situation in nineteenth-century Germany see Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 181-264.

⁶⁰Cited in D. G. Thomasius, *Das Wiedererwachen des evangelischen Lebens in der lutherischen Kirche Bayerns. Ein Stück süddeutscher Kirchengeschichte [1800-1840]* (Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1867), pp. 9-10. [There are in today's society entire cities which believe that they have got over Christianity; that they regard it as nothing but superstitious filth inherited from their forefathers, and that they are ashamed of going to church.].

⁶¹See Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 184.

innersten Fugen durchdringt, ihm am Herzen nagt und an seiner Auflösung arbeitet"⁶².

Stadtluft macht frei - "City air makes free". This German proverb found a concrete application in the increasing process of modern secularisation in European societies. It was mainly the big cities, with their own particular social and cultural infrastructure, in which there was a large scale exodus of the people from the church. Von Ammon, one of the most accomplished preachers of his time, made a vivid complaint about the dramatic decline of church attendance in the cities:

Nicht genug, daß die Tempel verlassen stehen; nicht genug daß die gottesdienstlichen Gebräuche und Handlungen mehr als jemals an der allgemeinen Teilnahme verloren haben; nicht genug endlich, daß der kirchliche Gemeingeist der Christen beinahe ganz entschwunden ist: auch der Glaube an die wesentlichen Wahrheiten der Religion hat für unendlich viele seine Gewißheit und Stärke verloren, Zweifelsucht und Gleichgültigkeit sind häufig an seine Stelle getreten, der Gedanke an Gott und eine künftige Welt ist ganzen Familien und Gesellschaften fremd geworden.⁶³

⁶²Cited in Thomasius, *Wiedererwachen*, pp. 77-78. [penetrating her most inner joints, gnawing at her heart and working on her dissolution].

⁶³Cited in Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 184. [Not only are the churches left, not only have church services become neglected more than ever before, finally not only has the common ground of Christianity almost disappeared, but also the faith in the fundamental truths of religion has lost its certainty and power for many people. Doubt and indifference have taken its place. The thought of God and a life after death has become unknown in whole families and societies.].

The witness of von Ammon, who himself vacillated in his own theological approach between the "historischer" or "Offenbarungsrationalismus"⁶⁴ and the "rationaler Supranaturalismus"⁶⁵ of his later years, shows that his anxiety about the state of German Protestantism was not confined to orthodox churchmen who vehemently opposed the religious framework of the Enlightenment. On the contrary, the perception of the 'church in danger' was widespread and common to all church parties. Bretschneider, depicted by Rose as one of the chief representatives of contemporary Rationalism, only a few years before Rose's sermons, himself published a book on the alarming decline of religious life in Germany.⁶⁶

The neo-humanist, theologian and pedagogue Friedrich Immanuel von Niethammer (1766-1848)⁶⁷, who, as friend of the Idealist philosophers Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) and Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775-1854), was originally himself close to German Idealism, voiced his concern in the preface to his edition of *Die Weisheit Martin Luthers*⁶⁸:

Dahin ist es gekommen, daß man oft in unserem Gottesdienst vergebens Christentum sucht, daß man oft statt christlicher Predigt

⁶⁴[historical Rationalism or Rationalism of revelation].

⁶⁵[rational Supernaturalism].

⁶⁶Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider, *Über die Unkirchlichkeit dieser Zeit im protestantischen Deutschland* (Gotha: Julius Perthes, 1822).

⁶⁷On Friedrich Immanuel von Niethammer see *RGG* 3, vol. 4 (1960), col. 1475.

⁶⁸[The Wisdom of Martin Luther].

nur etwas wie Freimaurer-Reden hört, in denen nichts hervorsteht als das Bestreben, kein christliches Wort verlauten zu lassen.⁶⁹

As a royal commissioner for schools in Bavaria for many years, Niethammer was particularly concerned with the state of religious education in the schools. For the first time in Germany, the Enlightenment caused a lasting parting of the ways of education from the ecclesiastical view of world. As Karl Heussi has put it in his classic *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*:

Das Hauptergebnis dieser Entwicklung der Kultur für die Kirchengeschichte war, daß eine reiche Welt der Phantasie mit unerschöpflichen Anregungen für Geist und Gemüt erschlossen und eine ästhetisch orientierte Lebensauffassung erzeugt wurde, die sich von der weltflüchtig gestimmten Weltanschauung der Kirche durch ihre unbefangene Stellung zur Natur und zur Sinnlichkeit scharf unterschied.⁷⁰

Towards the end of the eighteenth century in most German principalities, the view gained acceptance that national education was a matter of concern for the state rather than for the churches. New concepts for books of

⁶⁹Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer, *Die Weisheit Martin Luthers*, second edition, 2 vols, vol. 1 (Nürnberg: J. L. S. Lechner, 1822), p. xv. [It has come to this! In vain one looks for Christendom in today's divine services. Instead of the Christian sermon one has to listen to something like freemasonic speeches, which are only distinguished by the effort to say nothing Christian whatsoever.].

⁷⁰Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, tenth, revised edition (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1949), p. 410. [As a major result of the cultural development of ecclesiastical history, a rich world of imagination was opened up with inexhaustible stimuli for mind and feeling and an aesthetic oriented philosophy of life was developed which was strongly

religious education echoed this new spirit of the time. Paulus published in 1808 in his function as director of the Bavarian school system a revised edition of the *Seilersche allgemeines Lesebuch für den Bürger und Landmann*⁷¹ which was described as a "kaleidoscope of everything" except of any reminder of Christian teaching.⁷² Shortly afterwards a commentary on a textbook for the instruction of candidates for confirmation was introduced to the Lutheran Church of Bavaria providing some principles for an up-to-date religious education. What was to be taught was "not was Jesus and his apostles had taught 1800 years ago, but what they still today, 1800 years later, would teach"⁷³.

But the situation must not be overstated. Particularly in rural areas, church life still flourished. The critical influence of the Enlightenment had little influence especially in traditional Catholic regions and towns, such as Münster. In the country, attendance at church and prayer meetings was usually in many places still the norm, and the people generally took it for granted that the pastor preached God's Word. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Europe was still dominated by an agrarian economy, and around 1800 less than 3% of the population lived in towns. Thus Heussi has warned not to overestimate the influence of the Enlightenment:

distinguished from the withdrawn *weltanschauung* of the Churches through its uninhibited attitude towards nature and sensuality.].

⁷¹[Seiler's General Textbook for the Citizen and Husbandman].

⁷²See Thomasius, *Wiederwachen*, pp. 57-60.

⁷³See *ibid.*, p. 61.

In manchen Landschaften war sie sicher nur schwach vertreten; neben der ausgesprochenen Aufklärungstheologie erzeugte die Praxis mancherlei Übergänge und Vermittlungen, und die alten Formen der Frömmigkeit, der Pietismus und selbst die alte streitbare Orthodoxie, bestanden als Unterströmungen fort, ja der Pietismus nahm in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 18.Jhs. einen neuen Aufschwung.⁷⁴

Yet even if the overall picture of the religious life in rural areas gave less grounds for concern, a gradual decline in Christian values and a steady neglect of sermons were also here occasionally detected. In rural parishes, as the Bavarian theologian, Gottfried Thomasius (1802-1875), wrote in his book on the reawakening of the Evangelical faith in the Lutheran Church of Bavaria,

fehlte der geistliche Sinn für die Unterscheidung des rationalistischen Gifts von gesunder Speise - um so mehr, als die Aufklärung auf den Kanzeln doch vorsichtig zu Werke ging und sich den Voraussetzungen der Gemeinden anbequeme. Die schalen Tugendpredigten faßten die Gemeinden so wenig an, daß sie nur dazu dienten, sie einzuschläfern und jenen Unterschied allmählich ganz zu vertuschen.⁷⁵

⁷⁴Heussi, *Kompendium*, p. 415. [In some regions it was only sparsely represented. Along with a pronounced theology of the Enlightenment, there were various forms of transition and mediation; and the old models of devotion, Pietism and even the old pugnacious Orthodoxy continued in existence as undercurrents. Pietism even regained a new impetus in the last decades of the eighteenth century.].

⁷⁵Thomasius, *Wiederwachen*, p. 70. [there was a lack of the spiritual sense for the differentiation of the Rationalist poison from healthy fare - all the more as the Enlightenment set to work with great care and adapted itself to the conditions of those parishes. The vapid sermons on virtue moved the parishes so little that they only helped to send to sleep and to gradually obscure that difference.].

Undoubtedly, the history of the development of the sermon, in the case of Protestantism the ecclesiological hallmark per se, conveys the prevailing general religious atmosphere of the age extremely well.

It is also true for the Enlightenment that religious experience in Protestantism found its expression mainly through the sermon. Thus the manifold criticism of the decline of the sermon which was voiced in the early nineteenth century went to the very heart of the previous epoch's general understanding of religion. Dietrich Rössler has pointed out in his outline of practical theology, that in the understanding of the Enlightenment, religion as such was given to every Christian to determine his thought and deeds. Religious awareness, therefore, was taken for granted in the listener to the sermon. It was then the task of the preacher to support and strengthen in his sermons that habitual awareness of religion.⁷⁶ "Mit der Entwicklung des Rationalismus", Rössler concluded, "bildet sich die ... Auffassung aus, daß der Einfluß auf die Lebenspraxis vordringliche Aufgabe der Religion sei."⁷⁷ The German theology of the Enlightenment was as much a practical and pedagogical reform movement as it was a new approach to systematic reflection on the content of Christian doctrine.

⁷⁶See Dietrich Rössler, *Grundriß der Praktischen Theologie*, second, enlarged edition (Berlin/New York: Walter der Gruyter, 1994), pp. 370-371.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 370. [With the development of Rationalism the ... conception was developed that it was the utmost task of religion to influence the practical aspects of life. For this, the sermon was regarded the most important instrument.].

According to Johann Joachim Spalding (1714-1804)⁷⁸, one of the chief-representatives of Neology, only those biblical doctrines should be considered in the field of dogmatics which had a positive significance for the "praktischen Zweck der Glückseligkeit"⁷⁹, that is the reformation and comfort of humankind.⁸⁰ As Gottfried Hornig has put it:

In ihren soziaethischen Bestrebungen begründet sie [die Aufklärungstheologie] eine Werteordnung, die auf dem Ethos von Tugend, Leistung und Pflichterfüllung aufgebaut ist. Die Vorschläge für die Gestaltung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens und der Eifer, mit dem man sich pädagogischen Programmen und Erziehungsaufgaben widmet, dürfen weder als bloßes Nützlichkeitsdenken noch als aufgeklärter Moralismus abqualifiziert werden.⁸¹

Characteristic of the Rationalistic sermon, therefore, were such topics as the value of morality, virtue, freedom and equality. The most popular sermons were simply related to the challenges of every-day life: health issues, politeness, boredom, envy, education, the value of getting out of bed early, the population of the under-water world and the feeding of cattle.⁸²

⁷⁸On Johann Joachim Spalding see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 4, *RGG* 3, vol. 6 (1962), cols. 221-222.

⁷⁹[practical purpose of beatitude].

⁸⁰See J. Schollmeier, *Johann Joachim Spalding. Ein Beitrag zur Theologie der Aufklärung* (Gütersloh: Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1967), p. 129.

⁸¹Hornig, *Lehre*, pp. 131-132. [In its social-ethical endeavours it [the theology of Enlightenment] established an order of values which was based on the ethos of virtue, achievement and fulfilment of one's duty. The propositions for the structuring of the life of society such as the eagerness which one dedicated to the pedagogical programmes and the educational system should not be dismissed either as mere utilitarian thinking or as an enlightened moralism].

⁸²See *ibid.*

Thomasius gave some revealing examples of the levelling effect of such an understanding of religion upon the central issues of Christian doctrine. Accordingly, one preacher reduced the message of Good Friday to the common denominator of 'the victory of Christianity in sleepless nights'. The problem of insomnia appeared again in another sermon on Matthew 9,18, in which the story of the reawakening of the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue was taken as an example of the significance of religion as the remedy against the boredom of long autumnal nights.⁸³

Alfred Niebergall, interestingly enough, has stressed in this context, that the standard sermon of the Enlightenment was decisively influenced by English devotional literature and theology.⁸⁴ Already in 1774, Herder, the future Generalsuperintendent of Weimar, ridiculed in his *An Prediger* those theologians and preachers of the Enlightenment whose religious belief was formed by the philosophy of the Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713).⁸⁵

Herder's new understanding of the Christian revelation stands at the threshold of a new age in German theology and as such has been regarded as an anticipation of Friedrich Schleiermacher's (1768-1834) final onslaught on the Enlightenment.⁸⁶ For Herder, Jesus was not any longer

⁸³See Thomasius, *Wiedererwachen*, pp. 50-51.

⁸⁴See *RGG* 3, vol. 5 (1961), col. 524.

⁸⁵See Herder, *Prediger*, p. 78.

⁸⁶On Herder's significance for the overcoming of the Enlightenment, see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 4, pp. 207-271.

simply "ein guter Mann und Lehrer guter Moral, sondern Erlöser der Welt"⁸⁷. Herder's parting shot was directed against those theologians who regarded themselves merely as "appointed teachers of wisdom and virtue". They would have been altogether better off to have come down from the pulpit and taught rather than preached⁸⁸ - especially since the Bible did not really suit their purposes anyway: "Die Bibel", Herder caricatured the enlightened use of Scripture, "welch ein unvollkommener, veralteter Autor zu der Weisheit und Tugend! Laßt uns, wie die Professoren der Politik und Moral, einen Autor wählen, der von der Sache geradezu handelt - Stücke von Sokrates, pensées der Voltäreepiktete und ihrer Schüler!"⁸⁹ Against the prevailing image of the Church and her clergy as a higher "educational academy for citizens and subjects to his Majesty", Herder countered that the true purpose and task of the preachers were not to be "Urtreiber moralischer Pflichten und bürgerlicher Tugend: sondern Prediger göttlichen Worts, Erhalter des Glaubens, der Offenbarung"⁹⁰.

The general discontent with the decline of the sermon naturally went along with an extremely low reputation of the Protestant clergy: For as

⁸⁷Herder, *Prediger*, p. 91. [a good man and teacher of a decent morality but the redeemer of the world].

⁸⁸See *ibid.*, p. 73.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 82. [what an imperfect and antiquated author for wisdom and virtue! Let us, like the professors of politics and morals choose an author who is precisely about this issue - plays from Sokrates, pensées of works by Voltaire and their pupils!].

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 89. [the upholders of moral duties and civil virtue; but preachers of God's Word, preservers of faith and revelation].

Thomasius lamented: "Es war wirklich eine recht klägliche Zeit, der geistliche Stand war im Allgemeinen bis zum Jahre 1820 und darüber hinaus in einem tiefen geistlichen Schlaf versunken, das Wort Gottes theuer im Lande geworden, der Weinberg des Herrn sehr verödet."⁹¹ Thomasius painted a horror picture of the state of the German Protestant clergy. He spoke of an entire want of education among some of the ministers, of their unworthy performance of their official duties, even of indecent and immoral behaviour, not to mention daily drunkenness and other worldly pleasures:

Es kam wohl vor, daß Pfarrer mit ihren Bauern selbst am Sonntag Karten spielten, daß einige benachbarte Universitätsfreunde auch als Geistliche noch, wenn zusammenkamen, ihr wüstes Unileben fortsetzen, daß Gemeinden von sehr ärgerlichen Auftritten in Pfarrhäusern zu reden wußten.⁹²

Thomasius' portrayal is open to the objection of giving an unbalanced account of its subject, for his point of view was coloured by the polemical intention of highlighting the contribution of the Revival movement to nineteenth-century church life at the expense of the theological Enlightenment. It is difficult to establish exactly the effect of the

⁹¹Thomasius, *Wiedererwachen*, p. 56. [It was indeed a deplorable time; the clergy were generally until the year 1820 and even later sunk into a deep torpor; God's Word became rare in the country, and the vineyard of the Lord was wholly deserted.].

⁹²Ibid., p. 54. [It has been known to happen, that parsons even on Sundays played cards with their farmers; that old university friends even still as clergymen continued their wild student-life whenever they met; that parishes only too well knew of unpleasant scenes in their presbyteries.].

Enlightenment on the average Protestant parish. Even Thomasius qualified his account by conceding that only a minority of the clergy went to the extreme bounds of the radical Enlightenment: "Von der Mehrzahl läßt sich nichts weitersagen, als daß sie eben der seichten Aufklärung und Oberflächlichkeit verfallen war."⁹³

However, the signs of increasing religious indifference and of the rapid process of alienation of the masses from the Protestant Churches in Germany were everywhere apparent. As an 'instrument of the public welfare' for the secular authorities, established Protestantism was on the edge of becoming socially insignificant. This estrangement from the Church was already at an advanced stage especially among the educated and middle classes. Wallmann has spoken of a most serious crisis in its history for Christianity at the end of the eighteenth century in Germany⁹⁴. A newspaper from Berlin, the place which ever since Friedrich II (1740-1786) had been the stronghold of the German Enlightenment, went so far as to predict the entire extinction of the Christian faith in Germany in the course of the next twenty years.⁹⁵ As is well known, Protestantism at that time was most purely embodied in Prussia. Bertrand Russell summarised the new factor of Prussian predominance as follows:

⁹³Ibid., p. 55. [From the majority one cannot say anything more than that they simply came under the spell of a shallow Enlightenment superficiality.].

⁹⁴See Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 175.

⁹⁵See *ibid.*, p. 184.

Gradually, during the nineteenth century, the culture of Protestant Germany became increasingly Prussian. Frederick the Great, as a free-thinker and an admirer of French philosophy, had struggled to make Berlin a cultural centre ... German philosophy was more connected with Prussia than were German literature and art. Kant was a subject of Frederick the Great; Fichte and Hegel were professors at Berlin. Kant was little influenced by Prussia; indeed he got into trouble with the Prussian Government for his liberal theology. But both Fichte and Hegel were philosophic mouthpieces of Prussia, and did much to prepare the way for the later identification of German patriotism with admiration for Prussia.⁹⁶

In Prussia, the Church was almost entirely incapacitated and degraded into a handmaiden of the state. Friedrich Wilhelm I (1713-1740) believed that Protestant countries had the advantage of knowing how to keep a tight rein on the clergy. During the reign of his son, the 'philosopher of Sanssouci', Friedrich II, who regarded the Church merely as an instrument of the public welfare, the clergy were systematically employed as civil servants: "Sie mußten Maulbeerbäume pflanzen, den Kartoffelanbau einführen und von der Kanzel herab die polizeilichen Verordnungen verkündigen."⁹⁷ Any church organisations which were beyond ordinary parochial structures were dissolved, and the Evangelical Church eventually had become little more than an academic 'preaching and teaching institution'.

⁹⁶Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy and its Connection with Political and Social Circumstances from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1946), pp. 747-748.

⁹⁷Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 177. [They had to plant mulberry trees, to introduce the cultivation of potatoes and to announce police regulations from the pulpit.].



Immanuel Kant



Johann Salomo Semler



Friedrich II of Prussia

1.3 English biblical scholarship before the 'infiltration' of German criticism: or signs of a collective amnesia

In comparison with Germany, England lagged far behind during the rise of the critical method in the nineteenth century. A glance at the institutional academic framework of both countries at that time might cast some striking light on their educational inequalities. German Old Testament scholarship, as Rogerson stressed, "entered the nineteenth century with something like twenty Protestant faculties in which the subject was taught."⁹⁸ Accordingly, in Germany around 1800 there existed an established tradition of critical biblical scholarship, whereas England entered the same period "deeply affected by a conservatism which flowed from the Methodist and Evangelical revivals of the second half of the previous century."⁹⁹ Cambridge and Oxford in the nineteenth century continued to be the main suppliers of ministers for the Church of England, and a majority of their graduates were still destined to enter the priesthood. Yet, as is well known, theology as one of the three higher faculties was not even an academic discipline taught to undergraduates at the two English universities:

⁹⁸Rogerson, *Criticism*, p. 249.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 250.

The provision made by the university for the formal instruction in divinity had behind it centuries of academic tradition. Divinity, as the queen of the sciences, was to be approached by the uninstructed only after sufficient groundwork had been laid in humane studies. It was accepted that previous qualifications for embarking on a study of the Christian faith were 'a due knowledge of the rules of right reasoning, and of the moral and religious truths which nature teaches; of the state of the world in its earlier ages, and in that when Christianity first appeared' ... For that reason there were no university exercises in theology for the degrees of BA or MA. Formal theological training was the business of the higher faculty. When once the MA was achieved, first the BD and then the DD could follow, though only a small minority of those entering the church proceeded to the higher faculty, and if they did they no longer obtained from the university the traditional instruction for it.¹⁰⁰

Although R. Greaves' statements on the educational standards in theology at the University of Oxford applies in the first instance to the period from 1715 to 1800, conditions as such remained largely unchanged equally at both universities until well into the nineteenth century. Pusey and John Henry Newman's (1801-1890) theological education did not begin until Charles Lloyd (1784-1829) instituted, in his function as Regius Professor of Divinity, a course of lectures for some few graduates.¹⁰¹ In short, the provision made by both English universities for the religious education of undergraduates rested traditionally on the framework of the colleges, and there primarily on the individual commitment of the tutors, rather than on

¹⁰⁰R. Greaves, 'Religion in the University 1715-1800', in T. H. Aston (ed.) *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 5, L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell (ed.), *The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 403.

¹⁰¹See Forrester, David, *Young Doctor Pusey* (London: Mowbray, 1989), p. 25-28.

the requirements of the academic curriculum.¹⁰² Thus the enormous influence of public lectures and the university sermons, such as Rose's *Discourses*, on the formation of the minds of theologically uninstructed future Anglican ministers should not be underestimated, since it was those open lectures within the university which constituted for undergraduates a decisive and often initial point of contact with the trends of contemporary theology during their studies.

On the ground of his observation that "a very general ignorance, even of the elements of the Hebrew language, prevailed among the great body of the English Clergy"¹⁰³, Richard William Jelf (1798-1871), the closest friend of Pusey's youth and a fellow student in Lloyd's tutorials in the 1820s, published in 1832 a little tract in which he voiced his deep concern about some deplorable developments in the theological education of Anglican divines:

Theology is studied, deeply studied, by clergymen as individuals: but we have, in fact, to our shame be it spoken, no *school* of theology among us. Attendance on a limited course of lectures, excellent in their way, but necessarily confined rather to *pointing out* than to *teaching* the different branches of Divinity, is all that is absolutely required. The Divinity schools are in existence; the Divinity degrees are conferred; the Divinity chairs are filled by able,

¹⁰²See Greaves, *Religion*, pp. 403-404, V. H. H. Green, 'Religion in the Colleges 1715-1800', in Sutherland, *Eighteenth Century*, pp. 425-467.

¹⁰³Richard William Jelf, *Suggestions Respecting the Neglect of the Hebrew Language as a Qualification for Holy Orders: Respectfully Addressed to Examining Chaplains, to the Clergy at Large and to Candidates for Ordination* (London: J. G. & F. Rivington, 1832), p. 5.

and learned, and conscientious Professors; but where are the Divinity pupils? The few volunteers who remain behind, probationary fellows, and overworked college tutors, form but a very trifling exception to the general rule. The great body of rising clergymen fly away ... all of them content to pick up more or less of the crumbs of theological knowledge ... In the meantime, the Divinity schools are deserted, and the interests of theology are confided to her thirty representatives in the Divinity Professor's private study.¹⁰⁴

For Jelf it was of the utmost consequence for the *bene esse* of "true religion" that the established churches of Protestant countries should, as far as possible, "constitute a sort of ecclesiastical confederation against the Papist, the Unitarian, and the Infidel."¹⁰⁵ The maintenance of high standards in theology, therefore, was for Jelf a crucial factor in the good working and 'domestic peace' of the interrelationship between the churches of the Reformation. In this context, the Church of England was in "painful contrast" with those Churches of Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, and Sweden,¹⁰⁶ as far as the absence of a requirement of the knowledge of Hebrew from candidates for holy orders was concerned. The damaging consequences of this academic deficiency were all the more serious as Jelf was in no doubt of the general pre-eminence of the English Church as "the purest of Protestant Churches"¹⁰⁷ among her (established) brethren on the Continent.¹⁰⁸ However, Jelf was aware of the current poor

¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp. 48-50.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁰⁶See *ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁰⁸See *ibid.*, pp. 21-22: "The Church of England, indeed, from her pure apostolic constitution, from the Scriptural stability and unchangeableness

reception of Anglican theology abroad, and spoke from personal observation when he pointed out that in particular the clergy of Protestant Germany "generally entertain unfavourable opinions respecting the present condition of our invaluable Church establishment."¹⁰⁹ As preceptor to Prince George of Cumberland, he had visited Germany on several occasions as the escort of his royal pupil. In conversing with German theologians on matters related to the philological criticism of the Old Testament, Jelf recalled that

even where I perceived that the question did not turn upon the knowledge of Hebrew, I have been constantly embarrassed and silenced by the imputation on their part, or by the consciousness on mine, of my deficiencies in that particular acquisition, without which no one can have any pretensions to express a decided opinion¹¹⁰.

On the whole Jelf held the international comparison and the German example of high standards in biblical research as one great inducement for his fellow countrymen to the study of Hebrew. Even against serious objections that leading Hebraists in Germany were infected with Rationalist opinions, he countered the "numbers, the daily increasing numbers, of their

of her doctrines, from the zeal, piety, and learning of her ministry, has every requisite to qualify her for taking the foremost place amongst the Protestant Churches of Europe; and if she were known as she deserves to be, she would undoubtedly exercise a very powerful influence over the religious commonwealth of Christendom; she would restrain the extravagancies of her more undisciplined sisters, and lead them into the paths of consistency, unity, and moderation."

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 22.

¹¹⁰Ibid., pp. 23-24.

Hebraists, who maintain the orthodox faith."¹¹¹ The Rationalists were generally rather regarded as victims not of too much learning but of the pride of learning: "Their mind, proud of their acquisitions, eager for distinction even in evil, nationally greedy of novelty, have led them astray, and the error of the intellect has been unfortunately confirmed by the 'evil heart of unbelief."¹¹² Precisely because of those recent critical developments in the German world of biblical scholarship Jelf finally deemed it the best hope for England of escape from Rationalism next to practical piety to train "our learned believers in their several degrees to conquer the unbelieving Hebraists at their own weapons"¹¹³.

However, being familiar with the German educational system, Jelf noted an interesting difference between the institutional setting of English and German theology from which he drew a direct line to the susceptibility of German scholars to the rapid development of Rationalist tendencies. Accordingly, the mischief lay not in unbounded study of theology of German divines but

in their being allowed with impunity, by the vicious constitution of their establishments, to teach heresy and blasphemy from the Christian pulpit and the professor's chair. The Hebrew heresies of Gesenius would do less harm, if they did not come with all the sanctions of the Hebrew chair in a Christian university. The rationalists, abusing their knowledge of Hebrew, and the authority

¹¹¹Ibid., pp. 43-44.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 44.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 45.

of their high stations, have converted them into instruments of their infidelity.¹¹⁴

The futility of attempts by the secular authorities in the German principalities to restrain the predominance of the Enlightenment in the pulpit and at the lectern alone, shows that Jelf's allusion to the institutional framework of the universities was by no means unfounded. Already in 1766 Electoral Saxony issued an edict which was directed against the penetration of Rationalism into the Protestant churches and university faculties. Yet the impracticability of the *Wöllnersche Religionsedikt* in Prussia illustrates powerfully what Jelf had called "the vicious constitution" of the German establishment: the concept of *Lehrfreiheit*¹¹⁵, deeply grounded in the tradition and consciousness of German culture, provided a scholar at a German university once appointed with a relative freedom from secular or in case of Protestant theological discipline, ecclesiastical pressure. The pre-eminent position of the theological faculties as a sort of moral office within German Protestantism arose in the age of *Lutheran Orthodoxy* with the definite formation of the *Landesherrliches Kirchenregiment*. With the loss of episcopal government, it was the theological faculties which had decisively thereafter filled the vacuum of ecclesiastical authority in German Protestantism. In his Anglo-German case-study of historical criticism and christology, Robert Morgan dismisses the suggestion that the constraint of a professorial canonry at Christ Church

¹¹⁴Ibid.

ever prevented English divines from saying what they thought, but frankly concedes that Anglican clerics, due to this different institutional framework, "were generally more closely tied to the church leadership than German university professors"¹¹⁶.

It comes as no great surprise that the reaction to Jelf's publication of his *Suggestions* in England was by no means universally favourable. The *British Magazine* deemed it perfectly advisable to raise the standard for the acquirements of the clergy, but was not at all inclined to agree with Jelf's generally deplorable picture of the state of English scholarship. Moreover, Jelf's enthusiastic reference to Germany did not help to promote his cause. The reviewer made no secret of his sincere objections to upholding the authority of German theologians as a shining example for the English Church: their rather dubious reputations were by no means such as "to make it a matter of any consequence to the English clergy whether the Germans esteem them very highly or not"¹¹⁷.

Rogerson, however, has shown that those general reproaches from the German side against Anglican theology were ubiquitous in the nineteenth

¹¹⁵[The freedom and inviolability of teaching and the sciences].

¹¹⁶Robert Morgan, 'Historical Criticism and Christology: England and Germany', in: S. W. Sykes (ed.), *England and Germany. Studies in Theological Diplomacy* (Frankfurt am Main/Bern: Lang, 1982), p. 89.

¹¹⁷The *British Magazine*, vol. 2 (1832). p. 400.

century.¹¹⁸ Heinrich Georg August Ewald (1803-1875), one of the most distinguished orientalist and theologians at his time, repeatedly alluded in his *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft* (1848-1865) to the superficiality of English biblical research which lacked for the most part a concept of an "ächte biblische Wissenschaft"¹¹⁹. In his lectures on *The History of Philosophy*, Hegel described the English as the people in Europe "which, limited to the understanding of actuality, is destined, like the class of shopkeepers and workmen in the state, to live always immersed in matter, and to have actuality but no reason as object."¹²⁰

Yet, in spite of the slightly narcissistic but nevertheless widespread perception in the nineteenth century that Protestant theology was German theology, there is enough evidence to suggest that the Germans themselves have always been aware of the huge intellectual debts they owed to their English forerunners: Carl Friedrich Stäudlin (1761-1826),¹²¹ the celebrated theologian at the University of Göttingen, concisely summarised at the close of the eighteenth century this development in his *History and Spirit of Scepticism* (1794):

¹¹⁸See Rogerson, *Criticism*, pp. 5-6.

¹¹⁹Cited in *ibid.*, p. 6. [true biblical science].

¹²⁰Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, 3 vols, vol. 3, trans. E. S. Haldane and Frances H. Simson, 3 vols, vol. 3 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1892-1896), p. 172.

¹²¹On Karl Friedrich Stäudlin see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 59-60. *RGG* 3, vol. 6 (1962), cols 326-327.

The Revolution in theology had occurred in England and was to be continued in Germany. There it came especially from Locke; here from Leibniz and Wolff and the increasing influence of the writings of the English so-called Naturalists. There it was more connected with philosophical and historical investigations, here it would take its beginning from an improved criticism, exegesis and ecclesiastical history.¹²²

Moreover, orthodox biblical scholarship of the type of Bishop Robert Lowth (1710-1787) and Benjamin Kennicott (1718-1783) was known and acknowledged in Germany. The famous lectures *On the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, delivered by Lowth in Oxford in 1753, were made available to German readers in an edition by Michaelis, *Praelectiones De sacra poesi Hebraeorum* (Göttingen, 1758-1762), enlarged with additional notes by the editor.¹²³ Lowth's chief contribution to biblical exegesis arose from the stylistic analysis of the forms used throughout the Old Testament which, according to Ernst Kutsch, has prepared for Johann Gottfried Eichhorn's (1752-1827) introduction of the term 'myth' to biblical scholarship.¹²⁴ Kennicott's life-work, the critical study of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, on the other hand, was assisted by collations of manuscripts from many parts of Europe. It should be borne in mind that his *Vetus*

¹²²Carl Friedrich Stäudlin, *Geschichte und Geist des Skeptizismus vorzüglich in Rücksicht auf Moral und Religion* (Leipzig: Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1794), pp. 135-136.

¹²³In this study, Lowth recognised the existence of the *parallelismus membrorum* as the basic structure of Hebrew poetry. For Herder's reception of Lowth's work, see: Johann Gottfried Herder, 'Briefe das Studium der Theologie betreffend', 1. Teil (1780), in Gottfried Herder, *Sämtliche Werke*, Edited by Bernhard Suphan, 33 vols, vol. 10 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1879), pp. 15, 28.

¹²⁴See *RGG* 3, vol. 4 (1960), cols. 459-460.

Testamentum Hebraicum cum Variis Lectionibus, a text-critical edition of the Hebrew Bible on a large scale (2 vols, 1776-1780), was the fruit of international, mainly Anglo-German co-operation. Furthermore, the valuable collections of rare biblical manuscripts kept in the libraries of the two ancient English universities bear silent but impressive witness to that industrious enthusiasm with which the English world of letters was busily occupied over centuries in the advance of text-critical studies of Scripture.¹²⁵

Correspondingly, unworried by Jelf's self-critical indications of the contemporary international reputation of English writers on theology, the *British Magazine* was far from hiding the light of English biblical scholarship under a bushel. On the contrary, an impressive list of those British divines who in the previous hundred and fifty years had rendered outstanding services to the interpretation of Scripture was brought up in sharp reply:

If the Germans do not condescend to look at the works of Archbishops Magee and Lawrence, Bishops Jebb, Burgess, Marsh, Middleton and Stock; Archbishop Newcome, Bishops Horne,

¹²⁵In this context, it is worth noting that the Oxford University Press, arguably the greatest academic publishing business in the world, owes its origins to the ambition of the university's great benefactor and reformer, Archbishop William Laud (1573-1645) "to set up a Greek press at Oxford, ostensibly to print valuable manuscripts in the Bodleian, and to get the necessary typographical equipment for it." In Michael Hunter, 'The Origins of the Oxford University Press', in: *The Book Collector*, vol. 24 (1975), pp. 513-514.

Horsley, and Lowth; Archbishop Secker, Bishops Hare, Kidder, and Walton; if they know nothing of Kennicott or Durell, Lightfoot or Castell, Parkhurst and the whole Hutchinsonian School, their contempt cannot be helped; and if they do it need not be cared for.¹²⁶

It is beyond the scope of this investigation to discuss the stages of the history of English criticism and interpretation of the Bible in great detail. Instead some indication will be given of the largely overshadowed fact that the orthodox world of nineteenth-century English biblical scholarship in its encounter with contemporary German Protestantism was haunted by a sort of historical boomerang effect; for the 'infiltration' of German criticism resulted in the last analysis from a home-made challenge.

Glover's general statement that the "traditional, pre-critical Bible was most intimately related to the religious life of the English people and entered into every pattern of religious life and thought"¹²⁷ needs, indeed, no particular investigation. The figures of the Venerable Bede (672/3-735), the first English historian whose biblical commentaries were soon in heavy demand on the continent, John Wyclif (c.1329-1384), whose bible translation and belief in the supreme authority of Scripture makes him an important forerunner of Luther and William Tyndale (1494-1536), dedicated martyr to Luther's new teaching and the one who first published his translations of the Old and New Testaments from the original Hebrew and Greek into

¹²⁶The *British Magazine*, vol. 2 (1832), pp. 400-401.

English, must be included among those outstanding scholars who helped in all periods to prepare the grounds for the advance of the interpretation of the bible. At the Reformation the principle of the primacy of scripture, as expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles, became an essential component of Anglican doctrine. Thus the sixth article holds that:

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.¹²⁸

England, as the German Old Testament scholar Henning Graf Reventlow showed in his study *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World*, can claim "a prominent place in the history of the interpretation of the Bible."¹²⁹ In particular Graf Reventlow's recent work on the beginnings of biblical criticism contributed to demythologise that long-established perception of the bogey of German historico-critical methods.

When we look for the real roots of those first reflections which brought about a critical concern with the Bible, we come upon a large-scale cultural movement throughout Europe which must be set

Glover, Willis. B., *Evangelical Nonconformists and Higher Criticism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Independent Press LTD, 1954), p. 14.

¹²⁸The eighth article subordinates the authority of the creeds to the normative authority of scripture. The twenty-first article states not only, in clear accordance with Luther, the fallibility of general councils but that resolutions ordained by them as necessary to salvation "have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of holy Scripture."

¹²⁹Henning Graf Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World* (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1984), p.4.

alongside the Reformation as the most powerful force in the formation of the modern world. There is a clear line of development in the history of theology, stages of which can be seen in late mediaeval Spiritualism, the rationalistic and moralistic trends within Humanism and the Anabaptist movement, and finally in the two great trends which dominated church politics: Puritanism and rationalistic liberalism (Latitudinarianism and Deism proper) in England.¹³⁰

Graf Reventlow has redrawn the map and highlighted new landmarks in the broader history of biblical interpretation. Therefore it was precisely England,

with its characteristic theological and philosophical history, not to mention its distinctive ecclesiastical politics, that typical views of the world developed which were to have lasting influence in forming even the hidden presuppositions in the interpretation of the Old Testament and in biblical exegesis generally¹³¹.

Long before the sensational appearance of the iconoclastic *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* in Germany, the crisis over the authority of the Bible had already emerged on English soil in the endeavours of biblical criticism as introduced by the complex entity of English Deism.

The direct and indirect influences of English Deism on the German Enlightenment, which represents a late phase in the general development of ethical rationalism, are great, especially since the German Enlightenment differed from that in France by sharing the same basically apologetic position as English Deism ... However, we cannot overestimate the influence exercised by Deistic thought, and by the principles of the Humanist world-view which the Deists made the criterion of their biblical criticism, on the historical-

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 3.

¹³¹Ibid., p. 4.

critical exegesis of the nineteenth century; the consequences extend right down to the present.¹³²

English Deistic literature contributed profoundly to the development of biblical interpretation and gave the impetus to a new understanding of theology as historical *Wissenschaft* which only subsequently was to be continued and ripen at German universities.¹³³ Besides, as Rogerson pointed out, the Deist controversy left also a decisive mark upon even orthodox English biblical scholars.¹³⁴ In his foreword to the English translation of Graf Reventlow's *Authority of the Bible*, James Barr has trenchantly backed up the author's reversion of the long-established view of biblical criticism as a German innovation:

People often suppose that biblical criticism is a German innovation or invention, and those in the English speaking world who are hostile to it have often cited its supposed German origin in order to frighten people away from it. It is more true, however, to say, that the cradle of biblical criticism lay in the English-speaking world: only from near the end of the eighteenth century onward did Germany become the main centre for its development. Before that time England was the chief locus in which new ideas of the nature and authority of the Bible were fostered.¹³⁵

¹³²Ibid., pp. 411-412.

¹³³On English biblical criticism prior to 1800 see: Rogerson, *Criticism*, pp. 147-157.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 153: "The eighteenth century saw considerable interest in establishing the original text of the Old Testament, which was generally acknowledged to be corrupt in parts. The defects could be remedied by greater knowledge of the manuscript tradition of the Hebrew Bible, by use of the ancient versions, and by comparative philology. The Old Testament text was handled freely, and many emendations were proposed."

In this light, the largely negative reception of German biblical criticism in nineteenth-century England, as exemplified in Rose's *Discourses*, constitutes from an historical point of view quite a puzzling phenomenon, especially when one takes into account the pre-eminent role of England during the first half of the Age of Enlightenment, where it had been, as Neill put it "the teacher of Europe"¹³⁶. Yet at the end of the eighteenth century the 'baton change' was completed. Germany, having finally recovered from its slumber, after the devastating turmoil of the Thirty Years' War, put into practice those principles which 'enlightened Europe' could previously only imagine and took once again a leading position in the European world of letters. Since the English, on the other hand, had overcome the traumatic experience of Deism, the overall image of religious life in nineteenth-century England gives rather the impression of having repressed all memory about its own previous endeavours and therefore its spiritual fatherhood of the intellectual developments on the continent. In a early twentieth-century study on the development of Protestant thought before Kant, the American church historian Arthur Cushman McGiffert has concisely summarised the different cultural developments in England and Germany as follows:

While the rational supernaturalism of Tillotson and others like him was strong during the first half of the eighteenth century in orthodox Anglican circles, and among the clergy of the

¹³⁵Reventlow, *Authority*, p. xii.

¹³⁶Neill, *Interpretation*, p. 36.

Establishment, its influence rapidly waned during the latter half of the century, and Deism remained throughout a proscribed and hated thing. In Germany, on the other hand, not only supernatural rationalism, but rationalism of a more or less deistic type, which minimised or even rejected altogether the supernatural, was strong in the pulpits and theological faculties at the end of the eighteenth, and well on into the nineteenth century. It was later in making its appearance within German theological circles, but it lasted longer, and in its extremer form got a much firmer hold upon German than upon English Christianity. In England evangelicalism followed rationalism and crowded it off the field. In Germany rationalism followed pietism, instead of being followed by it, and hence its development went unchecked for a much longer time. It is no accident that German theology ever since the latter half of the eighteenth century has been much more rationalistic than English, although the rational tendency first found expression on a large scale in England, not in Germany.¹³⁷

This overstates the orthodoxy of the English. As the ideology of the state was Trinitarian orthodoxy, so political radicalism assumed the attitudes of anti-Trinitarianism. Gilley argues that while the English Deism of the early eighteenth century had been obscured, it underwent in the 1790s something of a revival of influence as a popular movement that was largely influenced by the political reformer and author of the *Rights of Man* of Thomas Paine (1737-1809). There was, moreover, a strong Unitarian movement:

But if the Unitarians were a minor branch of English Dissent, they were a learned body, and made up in influence what they lacked in numbers. Charles Dickens chose to worship in a Unitarian chapel. Mrs Gaskell was married to a Unitarian minister. The Unitarian-born Harriet Martineau was a leading light of political economy; her brother James reformed the Unitarian theology. Unitarians formed wealthy local dynasties, like the Chamberlains in Birmingham. In the aftermath of the reform of the municipal corporations in 1835,

¹³⁷Arthur Cushman McGiffert, *Protestant Thought before Kant* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1911), pp. 250-251.

throwing them open to non-Anglicans, there were Unitarian mayors of Manchester and Liverpool. Some of their churches were of cathedral splendour, rivalling Anglicans.¹³⁸

Otto Pfleiderer (1839-1908), who in England was long considered as one of the leaders of German nineteenth-century liberal theology,¹³⁹ maintained that in the face of a rising conflict between religion and science and a new mode of feeling through the dawning of the age of Romanticism, Britain failed in the nineteenth century to develop its proper philosophical response to those challenges. In Germany, on the other hand, that new mode of feeling "was met in the idealistic philosophy founded by Kant, which in all its various developments had this in common, that it connected man with the higher world of spirit, and set before him conscious devotion to it as the object of his own perfection"¹⁴⁰. No such philosophy, however, existed in England, and as a matter of fact, Kant has lived on the fringe rather than at the centre of British religious thought.¹⁴¹ It was Pfleiderer's contention that a philosophical system was able to exercise a determining influence upon the ecclesiastical thought of a nation only "when it has penetrated it so

¹³⁸Sheridan Gilley, *Newman, Hutton and Unitarianism* (unpublished paper), for the Newman Conference, Oxford, 1998.

¹³⁹On Otto Pfleiderer see: *RGG* 3, vol. 5 (1961), cols 312-313.

¹⁴⁰Otto Pfleiderer, *The Development of Theology in Germany since Kant and its Progress in Great Britain since 1825* (London: Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., 1893), pp. 306-307.

¹⁴¹Kant's influence on British religious and philosophical thought is explored in: Peter Addinall, *Philosophy and Biblical Interpretation. A Study in nineteenth-century conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 217-261.

profoundly as to determine the popular philosophy of the educated classes concerned"¹⁴². Accordingly he concluded:

As regards the idealistic philosophy of Germany no such reception of it was possible in England. On the other hand, the English philosophy of the past could no longer satisfy the requirements of the new poetic and religious feeling. The revived religious consciousness accordingly failed to find the indispensable intellectual basis and regulative principles, without which it could not develop into definite theological teaching, or guide the development of the mind of the Churches in harmony with the general thought of the nation and the age. It seems to me that we have here the explanation of the remarkable fact that the Church life of England, until within the last decade, has remained almost completely untouched by the vast progress of the scientific thought of the educated classes, and that wherever the two come into contact, such a violent collision is the consequence that popular feeling is shocked, and not a few despair of the possibility of any mutual understanding.¹⁴³

Having retreated on this view into the safe shells of theological orthodoxy, English scholars of the type of Rose, indeed, looked uncomprehending back to the Enlightenment as a "corrupt and unspiritual age"¹⁴⁴, rejoicing in the conviction that the unhappy conditions of foreign Protestants, were simply "unknown to us"¹⁴⁵. However, in view of the troubled religious situation in England during the 1820s, such displayed confidence is hardly

¹⁴²Pfleiderer, *Development*, p. 307.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴Hugh James Rose, *The Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy in a series of Discourses preached before the University of Cambridge, in April MDCCCXXVI* (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1828), p. 10.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 14.

convincing. After all, Dean Burgon credited Rose precisely for his early perceptions concerning contemporary challenges to the Church of England:

Posterity will recognize the fact that it was Hugh James Rose who was the true moving cause of that stirring of the waters which made an indelible impress on the Church of England between fifty and sixty years ago, and which it is customary to date from the Autumn of 1833. It was he who so early as the year 1822, had pointed out to the Clergy 'Internal Union' as 'the best safeguard against the dangers of the Church.' In 1825 ... from the University pulpit at Cambridge, he had directed attention to the state of German Protestantism, - a spectacle of warning to the Church of England ... His eagle eye was the first to discern the coming danger, and his commanding intellect was incessantly occupied with the problem of how it was to be effectually dealt with.¹⁴⁶

The period 1828-1832 witnessed a crisis in the Church of England's position as the Church of the English state, and nation, and people.¹⁴⁷ While the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 was largely symbolic in character, Catholic Emancipation in 1829 and the election of a Whig administration in 1830 seemed to augur ill for the Church Establishment, and the government's Irish Church Act in 1833 provoked the Oxford Movement in its defence. In the words of Norman Gash,

The whole constitutional revolution of these years [1828-1832] could be represented in religious terms ... The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts destroyed the formal principle of Anglican monopoly in offices of State and municipalities; Catholic Emancipation admitted Romanists to the legislature, the Reform

¹⁴⁶Burgon, *Lives*, first edition, vol. 1, pp. 158-159.

¹⁴⁷See J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 393-408.

Act gave political strength to the intellectual and sectarian enemies of the Establishment.¹⁴⁸

In short, Rose's anxious look across the Channel says at least as much about the prevailing 'nervous' mood in the English Church over the growing challenge to its position in England as it says about the alleged apostasy of German Protestantism. Not without reason are the *Discourses*, as Nockles states in his entry for the forthcoming *NDNB*, "the most acute of all his writings"¹⁴⁹; Rose's critique on the state of affairs in Germany was undoubtedly, as Liddon suggested,

not mainly concerned with the condition of German Protestantism. He was thinking not of Germany but of England. The danger of intellectual infection was not a remote one, and the question which interested Mr. Rose even more than the devastations of Rationalism was the cause - if any could be assigned - for its prevalence. How had the country and Church of Luther come to repudiate so largely the very substance and heart of the Christian Creed?¹⁵⁰

The awful parable of a Germany where the introduction of critical methods of research into biblical study had gone along with an increasing falling away from Christianity, however, was immensely popular and certainly damaging for the already shattered bonds of the Churches of the Reformation. In the light of the preceding, however, only collective amnesia explained Rose's belief in an ideal English ecclesiastical world and

¹⁴⁸Norman Gash, *Reaction and Reconstruction in English Politics 1832-1852* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 62.

¹⁴⁹Peter Nockles, *Hugh James Rose* (unpublished paper), for *NDNB*.

¹⁵⁰Liddon, *Pusey*, vol. 1, p. 148.

how the overall negative reception of Protestant Germany in Victorian England developed in the distorted way it did.

2. English Orthodoxy versus Rationalism

2.1 Reception of German Biblical criticism in early nineteenth-century England: or the parable of an insular seclusion

The present chapter is concerned with the impact of German Protestantism on religious life and theological debate in nineteenth-century Britain. In 1825, the year in which Rose brought his assaults on the state of religious affairs in Germany to the attention of the English public, Connop Thirlwall (1795-1875), acclaimed by Neill as "one of the greatest Christians of the nineteenth century"¹, anonymously published his own translation of *A Critical Essay on the Gospel of Luke*, which is generally considered to be one of Schleiermacher's more minor works. The interesting aspect of Thirlwall's impact on the origins of Rose's *Discourses* will be discussed later in this study. With the publication of Schleiermacher's small volume on St. Luke, Thirlwall set out on the brave task of acquainting the British public with the latest stage in the study of the synoptic problem. Thirlwall

¹Neill, *Interpretation*, p. 8.

knew only too well the tendentious attitudes among his fellow Englishmen towards the methods of biblical criticism, particularly those developed in Germany:

Indeed with few exceptions one half of our theological public seems to have viewed this discussion with jealousy, and another with indifference ... This digression seems the more unavoidable, as it cannot be concealed that German theology in general, and German biblical criticism in particular, labours at present under an ill name among our divines; so that no one is more sure of an attentive and believing audience than he who undertakes to point out its mischiefs and dangers, and no one of course has need of greater caution than he who thinks of importing any novelties from the suspected quarter.²

Indeed his sound acquaintance with contemporary German theology did not exactly turn out to Thirlwall's advantage. In the early nineteenth century, any association with the odium of the new 'heterodox' systems of Protestant Germany was anything but career-enhancing, and the story of Thirlwall's life is a good example for that 'need of greater caution' about which he spoke in 1825. As a result of his involvement with Schleiermacher's work, Thirlwall was made to suffer with the appointment to the bishopric of St. David's, the remotest of all the British sees. The orientalist Archibald Henry Sayce (1845-1933) left in his *Reminiscences* an anecdote about this appointment which suggests the complex reception of German Protestantism through British eyes in early Victorian England. It was not without difficulty in 1840 that Lord Melbourne (1779-1848)

²Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher, *A Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke. With an Introduction by the the Translator Containing an Account of the Three First Gospels since Bishop Marsh's Dissertation*, trans. Connop Thirlwall (London: John Taylor, 1825), p. viii.

managed to secure for Thirlwall the vacant see of St. David's, after having attempted to install him in the bishopric of Norwich three years before. "Thirlwall", as Sayce recollected in his memoirs, "nearly ruined his career by a translation of Schleiermacher whose German 'neologism' were regarded with horror by the religious world of Great Britain. An early friend of his ... told me that immediately after his appointment to the bishopric Lord Melbourne sent for him and said: 'I have done you a favour by presenting you with a bishopric; now I want you to do me a favour in return.' Thirlwall having expressed his readiness to bestow it, the prime minister asked: 'Then what the devil made you translate Schleiermacher?'"³ Even as late as 1848, F. D. Maurice still vividly recalled the long-lasting impact of the translation on Thirlwall's ecclesiastical career:

The Bishop of St. David very injudiciously translated, about twenty years ago, Schleiermacher's book on St. Luke – the one of all, perhaps, which he ever wrote the most likely to offend religious people in England, and so mislead them as to his real character and objects. In consequence of the rumour that Thirlwall would be made archbishop, all the most revolting passages in this treatise ... have been carefully hunted out and paraded in the newspapers as exhibiting the deep-seated rationalism and blasphemous temper of a man whom an English bishop had delighted to honour. Any one who brings Schleiermacher forward while these passages are freshly recollected must therefore expect not only some hard names – which is easy to bear – but may also hinder the good words from producing their right effect.⁴

On the occasion of Thirlwall's interment in Westminster Abbey, however, Dean Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815-1881), a former pupil of Thomas

³Archibald Henry Sayce, *Reminiscences* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1923), p. 91.

Arnold (1795-1842) at Rugby, paid his tribute to the life of the late bishop of St. David's as

the chief of that illustrious group of English scholars who first revealed to this country the treasures of German research, and the insight which that research had opened into the mysterious origin of the races, institutions, and religions of mankind.⁵

But Stanley himself was known to belong to that Broad Church school which was somewhat akin to the German critics; the majority of Thirlwall's contemporaries viewed those 'treasures of German research' with great suspicion. There was a considerable deficit of first-hand knowledge concerning German Protestantism for most of the nineteenth century, but some English controversialists and commentators thought they knew enough about 'Germanism' to be horrified by it. The tendency to tax the whole German nation with infidelity, and with causing a growing indifference towards Christianity, seems to have been almost omnipresent. In 1827 *The Eclectic Review*,⁶ a Nonconformist journal, mirrored in a critique of Rose's *Discourses* the common English view of the deterioration of the Christian faith in the modern history of the German Lutheran Church:

⁴Frederick Maurice, *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, chiefly told in his own letters*, 2 vols, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan & Co., 1884), p. 454.

⁵Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (ed.), *Letters to a Friend by Connop Thirlwall, Late Lord Bishop of St. Davids* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1881), pp. viii-ix.

⁶For the origin of the *Eclectic Review* see John Medway, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of John Pye Smith, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Late*

Within the last forty years, infidelity has assumed a disguise which some beings who believe and tremble, have, no doubt, lauded as very clever and ingenious. In Protestant Germany and the neighbouring countries, it has put on the gown and the ruff; its children and servants have been saluted as *summe venerandi*, and they have sat down in the dignity and influence of university chairs and parish pulpits. They are, therefore, decked with the name of Christian: they are held to be the children of the Reformation; they are professionally of the Lutheran or of the Calvinistic communion; they are pastors and professors of divinity, profound scholars, able critics and distinguished authors.⁷

This identification of critical method and 'Germanism' had tremendous consequences for the acceptance of the whole dimension of modern understanding of theology as *Wissenschaft* in the English academic and ecclesiastical worlds which should not now be underestimated. From the fact that modern historico-critical scholarship in the first half of the nineteenth century was so widely regarded as a German product, Willis Glover deduced the reasons for the overwhelmingly negative reaction of the English Higher Criticism was branded "not only as foreign but as emanating from a specific nation which was not held in very high esteem by the English."⁸ Thus in 1854 *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review* spoke in the hope that the 'English way' of treating the evidences of Christianity was recovering its ground: "It was indeed time; for the field had been invaded, and not without success, by transcendental modes of thinking, and by a destructive criticism, imported from Germany."⁹ The theological world in England, as opposed to a minority of individual

Theological Tutor of the Old College, Homerton (London: Jackson and Walford, 1853), p. 145.

⁷*Eclectic Review*, vol. 28 (1827), p.2.

⁸Willis B. Glover, *Evangelical Nonconformists and Higher Criticism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Independent Press Ltd., 1954), p. 39.

figures, found itself to a great extent unprepared - both spiritually and intellectually - to take in the vast changes in the wake of the rise of the modern world, and the challenge to contemporary theological reflection and in particular to the authority of the Bible. Glover argues that the negative reaction of the English to foreign Higher Criticism, with the exception of the Cambridge school, lasted even for most of the nineteenth century and that the critical and historical study of the Bible did not get a foothold in England until after 1880: "Before 1880 the religious public did not commonly identify their work with higher criticism, which was still identified with a non-Christian naturalism and generally condemned."¹⁰

Yet there were also more nuanced views; a review of Barthold Georg Niebuhr's (1776-1831) *History of Rome* in the High Tory and conservative *Quarterly Review* focused in 1825 in great detail on the common image of the Germans:

There is naturally enough of a national character in the manner and degree of men's faith; and it has often been remarked that the German school has a tendency to Latitudinarianism: its divines are apt to explain away some of the most forcible scriptural expressions, and to introduce hypotheses of their own, without sufficiently reflecting on the consequences involved by the sacrifice of the plain statements of the Bible to the removal of some merely imaginary difficulty. Such men, however, and men who grow up at their feet, and imbibe their habits of thinking, are not to be therefore inconsiderately branded with want of Christian belief: the appellation of infidel belongs with far greater propriety to many writers on whom it has never been bestowed; to a whole multitude of dramatists, novelists, essayists, and others, who, while speaking

⁹*British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, vol. 3 (1854), p. 458.

¹⁰Glover, *Nonconformists*, p. 36.

respectfully of the doctrines of Christianity, have inculcated practical principles in direct opposition to the spirit of the gospel.¹¹

In many respects, this article exposes a remarkably positive position towards German scholarship. "Independence of thought" and "discrimination of judgement" are among those qualities which represent the distinction between the learning of the modern Germans and scholars of previous generations:

They do not merely retail the facts and opinions which they meet with in the course of their reading, without taking any pains to ascertain the truth of the one or the soundness of the other. They do not class the wisest and the most foolish reasoning under one general name of 'ancient authorities', and quote them all with equal confidence and respect. On the contrary every work which they have occasion to notice is subjected to a complete critical analysis; its accidental and its internal value are distinguished, and each carefully appreciated; the probable sources of the author's information are explored with the utmost diligence; and the product of knowledge which is at least collected from him is applied to illustrate the works of other writers; so that nothing is left to float vaguely in the mind of the reader or to encumber it with an ill-digested weight.¹²

The reviewer showed on the whole an exceedingly great sympathy even with certain conceded deficiencies in the intellectual character of the Germans. Accordingly the distinctive German intellectual endeavour originated in a number of external circumstances over which the Germans had no control:

With all these disadvantages of an almost total exclusion from the Sea, a deficiency of national power, and an absence of municipal freedom, we cannot be surprised that the energies of the Germans

¹¹*The Quarterly Review*, vol. 32 (1825), p. 87.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 84.

have been turned more towards thinking than acting; and that their understandings are tinged with that fanciful idealism for which a practical acquaintance with mankind, and with the concern of real life, seems to offer the only remedy.¹³

In his attempt to belittle the prevailing anti-German mood among his fellow Englishmen the reviewer might have slightly overshot the mark. However, the genuine originality in his argument is certainly something of a point in favour of the author. Untimely and certainly untrendy in its enthusiasm as it is, this particular plea for the German cause becomes all the more understandable as having come from the pen of one of the chief representatives of liberal Anglican thought in the early nineteenth century. For the reviewer was none other than Thomas Arnold, who himself was remembered afterwards by James Bowling Mozley (1813-1878) as the English embodiment of a "German and Lutheran".¹⁴ In the same year as the publication of both Thirlwall's translation of Schleiermacher and Rose's *Discourses*, Arnold was confident in the hope that the English could gain a great deal from a somewhat purified German intellectualism:

In fact, if we would hope to restrain that wildness of criticism on theological subjects which is too prevalent in Germany, we must learn to tolerate amongst ourselves a sober freedom of honest and humble inquiry; our censures, at present, lose some of their weight as proceeding from a national school too little accustomed to question old opinions to be able fairly to judge when they are questioned without reason ... We believe the inquiring spirit of the

¹³Ibid., p. p.88.

¹⁴James Bowling Mozley, *Essays Historical and Theological*, 2 vols, vol. 2 (London: Rivingtons, 1878), p. 26. See *ibid.*, p. 25: "Arnold was a German; his ethos was that of genuine religious Germanism, and his life a most favourable, but still a real specimen and legitimate development of the Lutheran theory - not the Lutheran theory in him, perhaps, so much as the genuine Lutheran instinct, which came round to the same point."

Germans is of a better kind; and while we sincerely wish to see it purified from its extravagances, we think that this may be most successfully effected, if we acknowledge, and endeavour to imitate its excellencies.¹⁵

It is precisely this last paragraph which compelled Rose in his *State of Protestantism in Germany* to add with a great deal of indignation a postscript of considerable length to the advertisement of his work in order to preclude any objections as far as his general attitude towards Germany was concerned.¹⁶ Rose, not being aware of the authorship of the *Quarterly* article, appeared to be worried about the possibility that in principle his remarks could be construed as a lack of respect for the German character. Thus he felt obliged to affirm emphatically, but with little apparent persuasiveness, the "boundless debt of gratitude" to the contributions of the Germans, "whom no man at all acquainted with the depth and extent of their researches in every branch of literature, can hesitate to place in the first rank, if not the first in that rank, of European nations."

Needless to say this praise of the pre-eminent role of German scholarship¹⁷ alludes to the past, to a golden and pre-enlightened age, "where the German divines as a body, and especially those of the Lutheran church, were as orthodox, as widely learned, and as remarkable for their talents, as any body of divines."¹⁸ As far as the present state of the Protestant religion in Germany was concerned, the high intellectual abilities which Rose

¹⁵*The Quarterly Review*, vol. 32 (1825) p. 87.

¹⁶See Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, p. xiii.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. ix.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. xii.

attributed to the Germans finally turned against them. Rose made no secret of his conviction that this supposed deterioration derived almost by nature from the intellectual make-up of the Germans. In Rose's estimation, theological Rationalism was clearly a distinctive 'German problem', and the errors of its system owed much to the typical German intellectual deficiencies: "They are owing to the perplexity arising from too deep consideration, from an unwillingness to rest on obvious causes, from seeking deeper ones in what appear philosophical grounds, and from an undue estimation of the powers of the mind."¹⁹

In short, Rose categorically dismissed the suggestion of any positive impact of that German "enquiring spirit", earnestly hoping that the recommendation in the *Quarterly Review* "may never be received, and that we may never see a spirit, allied to it, I do not mean in extent, but in principle, in operation, among us. For it is to the principle of this spirit, the recurrence to the human understanding alone, as the sole and sufficient arbiter in religious matters, that we are to look with fear."²⁰ The harsh tone of these remarks, culminating in the open expression of fear, exposes the far-reaching depth of the whole debate over German criticism. Apart from concerns for conflicting methods or different theological approaches, there were also the first signs of a subliminal suspiciousness of German culture as such which should not be underestimated as timid indications of the

¹⁹Ibid., p. xi.

²⁰Ibid., pp. xiii-xiv.

theological and cultural fragmentation of Europe in the further course of the nineteenth century.

Arnold plainly observed that, in their literary intercourse with Germany, the English had been "as passive traders as the Chinese: we have suffered our own productions to be exported, without any desire to import those of our neighbours in return."²¹ By the same token, the situation was not a lost cause, and the same critic felt the winds of change: "The taste for better things is rising, and the most valuable part of the most valuable literature in Europe will not long remain unknown to the inquiring and intelligent minds of Englishmen."²² Indeed one must not overstate the case. From the eighteenth century England was closely attached to German politics and culture - after all, since the reign of George I the British people had been ruled by a German dynasty.²³ As the Elector of Hanover before his accession to the English throne, George I chose Georg Friedrich Händel (1685-1759) as his Kappellmeister who turned London into the operatic capital of Europe in the 1720s. This is probably the earliest example of the increasing cultural rapprochement and exchange between the German and British nations in modern times. Contrary to long-established views, it is arguable to think of Britain's cultural as well as its theological isolation in far more relative terms. Thirlwall's interest in Niebuhr and Schleiermacher,

²¹*The Quarterly Review*, vol. 32 (1825), p. 84.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 85.

²³From George I. onwards even the royal spouses too, not to speak about a number of mistresses, were exclusively of German descent. Only the future Edward VII broke with this tradition by marrying Alexandra, eldest daughter of the future king of Denmark.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge's (1772-1834) reception of Kant and Schelling, Thomas Carlyle's (1795-1881) admiration for Goethe and Friedrich II, Hare's defence of Luther and George Eliot's (1819-1880) remarkable translations of David Friedrich Strauß (1898-1874) and Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872) all ran counter to the general tide of Anglican prejudice which flowed against German Protestantism and its culture.

It could be argued that these thinkers do not exactly represent the average standard of English academic preferences at that time. All these exceptional and highly individualistic endeavours also illustrate a very typical feature of Anglo-German relations the nineteenth century, that is the massive delay before German philosophical or theological concepts gained ground on the British Isles. One only has to take the example of Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel (1770-1831), the chief representative of German Idealism. Significantly, there are no references to Hegel either in Rose nor Pusey's studies of the state of Protestant Germany, despite his epoch-making influence on modern German theology.²⁴ As will be discussed later, the general British delay in receiving German thought meant that Rose's view of Germany was deeply anachronistic and at least a generation behind the times.

²⁴Rogerson, *Criticism*, p. 10, put down the differing paths of German and English Old Testament scholarship in the nineteenth century to the sufficiently powerful influence idealist philosophies exerted upon German theologians. In England, on the other hand, "the influence of idealist philosophy was much milder, and used to support a more traditional view of the history of Israelite religion".

In short, certainly in the first half of the century, the first decisive inroads of German theology into England were, as far as the Church of England was concerned, largely confined to the individual enterprise of liberal Anglicans. In addition to those named already, mention should be made of John Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872), who as late as 1853 was forced to retire from his Chair at King's College, London after the publication of his *Theological Essays*.

Yet even orthodox English writers did not completely evade the world of German scholarship. On the basis of a search for translations from German, John Rogerson has pointed out that there had already been before the mid-century "a steady stream of translations into English of conservative German works"²⁵. From the 1830s onwards increasing publications of works of biblical scholarship of the type by Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck (1799-1877) and Hengstenberg were made available to English readers. Thus even if we take it as granted that 'Germanism' was a cultural entity to be avoided and sometimes viewed with ridiculous narrow-mindedness in nineteenth-century England,²⁶ the public was not completely ignorant and indifferent towards developments on the continent.

²⁵Ibid., p. 175.

²⁶One of the most famous victims of that prevailing 'anti-German' mood in public life was probably Prince Albert (1819-1861), the Prince Consort. Wrongly spurned as a "Coburg adventurer on the make", he never quite managed to win the love of the subjects of his adopted country, despite his manifold lasting contributions to queen and country.

In fact, the wide spectrum of periodicals and journals²⁷ bears witness to an increasing interest in German theological literature and refute the suggestion that "at the turn of the eighteenth century, hardly anyone in England was aware of the great things that had been happening in the intellectual world of Germany."²⁸ *The Biblical Repertory*, an American periodical, which enjoyed a considerable popularity in England, enthusiastically published Rose's *State of the Protestant Church in Germany*, but nevertheless devoted a great deal of space to translations of German theological literature and consequently assisted the introduction of Higher Criticism to the English-speaking world.²⁹ Ironically, even Rose, who intended to forewarn and forearm his congregation against the theological advances on the Continent, finally helped to inspire his hearer F. D. Maurice with an enthusiasm for criticism.³⁰ For Maurice himself stated in a biographical letter in 1831:

In the Cambridge pulpit Mr. Hugh Rose, afterwards a kind friend of mine denounced German Rationalism, and seemed to treat all German theology as rationalist.³¹

²⁷Among those organs mention should be made of *The Quarterly Review*, *The Eclectic Review*, *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, *The British Quarterly Review* and *The London Quarterly Review*.

²⁸Neill, *Interpretation*, p. 1. For the account of the knowledge of German criticism in England see Rogerson, *Criticism*, pp. 158-179.

²⁹The *Biblical Repertory* published in-between 1825 and 1827 almost twenty tracts of German theologians including works by Beck, Tittmann, Steudlin, Knapp, Warnekros, Michaelis, Storr, Jahn, Herder, Ernesti, Tholuck Reinhard and Eichorn. See *Biblical Repertory. A Collection of Tracts in Biblical Literature*, vol. 1 (1825), vol. 2 (1826), vol. 3 (1827).

³⁰See John William Rogerson, *The Bible and Criticism in Victorian England. Profiles of F. D. Maurice and William Robertson Smith* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1995), p. 30.

³¹Maurice, *Life*, p. 180.

Furthermore, in the nineteenth century, there was an increasing popularity of *Wanderlust* among the English elite. As a key aspect of modern life, the development of travel and tourism should not be underestimated as a significant element in general cultural change. In his study of Anglican chaplaincies in Germany, Paul W. Schniewind has counted no fewer than sixty-three of these in various German principalities and free cities in 1900.³² In this context it should be borne in mind that it was precisely the two visits which Pusey paid to Germany which had such an enormous impact on the formation of his mind as well as on his theological education. As Forrester has stated, Pusey returned from Germany "a Semitic scholar of very high order; his innate conscientiousness and admiration of German thoroughness having enabled him to fulfil tasks which would have daunted an average person."³³ And this influence even survived Pusey's later intellectual transformation, as R. William Franklin has convincingly argued:

I have found much greater continuity between Pusey's experience of Germany in the 1820s and his emphasis on patristic themes in the 1830s and after. The impact of Germany on Pusey was multi-layered. Though he later repudiated his debts to German historical criticism of the Bible, the patristic views he gained in Germany are the seed of what is most valuable in Pusey's contribution to later Anglicanism.³⁴

³²See Paul W. Schniewind, *Anglicans in Germany. A History of Anglican Chaplaincies in Germany until 1945* (Darmstadt: Schniewind, 1988), p. xvii.

³³Forrester, *Pusey*, p 45.

³⁴R. William Franklin, 'The Impact of Germany on the Anglican Catholic Revival in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in *AEH*, vol. 19 (1992), p. 438.

Even in his more advanced years, Pusey gave some of his visitors the impression of being a "most unique union of a practical Englishman and an intellectual German"³⁵.

A lack of linguistic proficiency did not help the English public to understand German theological issues. In the preface to his translation of a work by the eminent church historian Johann August Wilhelm Neander (1789-1850), Henry John Rose gave a remarkable account of his linguistic difficulties with the German language:

There is one difficulty, however, which no one can properly appreciate, except those who have known it by experience, in every attempt to present the metaphysical and philosophical speculations of German writers to English readers; and that difficulty arises from the copiousness of the German metaphysical vocabulary, and the poverty of our own. Without passing any judgement on the various systems of philosophy which have made their appearance in Germany within the last fifty years, we may say that the Germans have paid more attention to metaphysics latterly than our countrymen have done; and, whether these systems be true or false, they have certainly carried to a very high point of refinement their analysis of the subtle processes of thought within us. In reducing their analysis to systems, they have made minute distinctions between these processes, which they have been enabled to embody in their language, and thus to introduce a definiteness into their copious vocabulary, which our own language is hardly capable.³⁶

It is a common cultural phenomenon to assign stereotyped characteristics to countries and their inhabitants.³⁷ In the case of Henry John Rose's

³⁵Ibid., p. 444.

³⁶August Neander, *The History of the Christian Religion and Church during the three first centuries*, trans. Henry John Rose, 2 vols, vol. 1 (London: C. J. G. & F. Rivington, 1831-1841), p. x.

³⁷In the 1820s John Russell, *A Tour in Germany, and some of the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire, in the years 1820, 1821, 1822*, 2 vols,

observation however, one should not jump to conclusions and brush aside that aspect of the "copiousness of the German metaphysical vocabulary" as a mere cliché. It is a truism that humankind thinks in language; therefore Henry John Rose points to an important aspect of the 'translation' of any intellectual system or thought from one language to another - that is to say the consideration of the particulars of each culture in its linguistic framework.

vol. 1, second edition (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1825), pp. 6-7, drew in his travel book his own conclusions from the possibility that the national cookery of a people may have some connection with its national character: "The German justly prides himself on the total absence of parade, on the openness, plainness, and sincerity which marks his character; accordingly, he boils his beef and roasts his mutton and fowls, just as they come from the hands of the butcher and the poulterer."

2.2 Pre-Tractarian High Church Identity and German Lutheranism

"It has been the fate of the Church of England from the beginning", as the historical writer and divine John Buxton Marsden (1803-1870) put it in 1856, "to be divided into parties."³⁸ It should be borne in mind that statements of principle on the Anglican reception of Lutheranism or any other shades of Protestantism, and in a wider context the whole ecumenical dialogue, wherever the Anglican communion finds itself involved, are largely determined and not seldom aggravated by an intrinsic ambiguity of Anglican ecclesiology and the division of the modern Church of England into a maze of theological concepts and church parties. In order to establish the historico-theological nature of the Anglican-Lutheran relations one has to take into account that the ecclesiological conception of Anglican identity, as a synthesis between Catholic and Protestant elements, constitutes a balancing act which makes it far more difficult for Anglicans than for their Lutheran counterparts to take a distinct and generally valid theological position in the ecumenical dialogue. To describe the Anglican system as a *via media* between the rival ecclesiological concepts of 'Rome and Geneva', as John Henry Newman did, presupposes, naturally, possibilities of party spirit and theological fragmentation in order to keep that claimed balance. Thus the conditions for the implementation of Rose and Pusey's 'German war' over the legitimization of German Protestantism were, one could argue, somewhat 'genetically determined' as an ecclesiological touchstone or corrective to

³⁸John Buxton Marsden, *History of Christian Churches and Sects*, vol. 1 (London: Richard Bently 1856), pp. 322-323.

the workability of the conception of Anglicanism as *via media* and was in the same way predictable like, for instance, the reaction of the Anglican public to Newman's *Tract 90* some years later or even the bitter controversy over the question of the ordination of women in the late twentieth century.

The domestic traditions of Anglican churchmanship, whether they be called Catholic, Protestant and Liberal or in the classic but rather obsolete terminology, High, Low and Broad, took their modern form in the 1830s and 1840s in the writings of the Broad Church theologian F. D. Maurice, and do, at least in view of the reality of the theological inner-life of the Church of England, not qualify Anglicanism to serve as paradigm of Christian unity but as a microcosmic mirror of the division of Christianity into a variety of denominations. "All shades of Anglican churchmanship", as the Anglican theologian Paul Avis calls the common description of Anglicanism as a synthesis of Catholic, Protestant and liberal elements into question,

can be found subscribing to the view that Anglican faith is both Catholic and Reformed and at the same time hospitable to intellectual enquiry. But the conclusions they draw are rather different. To some this threefold appeal will mean ordaining women, to others not on any account doing so. To some it will follow that there is no theological obstacle to intercommunion with Lutherans, to others no such conclusion follows.³⁹

For the purpose of this study it seems therefore advisable not to get bogged down in the general question of the distinctiveness of Anglicanism⁴⁰ as an

³⁹Paul Avis, 'What is 'Anglicanism'?', in Stephen Sykes, and John Booty (ed.), *The Study of Anglicanism* (London: SPCK, 1988), p. 413.

⁴⁰The term 'Anglicanism' is used here in a wider sense of the "system of doctrine and practice upheld by those Christians who are in religious

ecclesiological concept between Catholicism and Protestantism but to qualify the goal by concentrating mainly on those theological developments which determined the pre-Tractarian High Church attitude to the Continental Churches of the Reformation. Yet such a qualification does not make the situation necessarily easier, since of all the many labels descriptive of Anglican church party, none, as Peter Nockles stated, "has suffered more from over-usage and misapplication than that of 'High Church'"⁴¹. In his pioneering works on the broader history of Anglican High Churchmanship, Nockles has suggested a useful definition of High Churchmanship in the pre-Tractarian era which might well be applicable in this study:

A High Churchman in the Church of England tended to uphold in some form the doctrine of apostolical succession as a manifestation of his strong attachment to the Church's catholicity and apostolicity as a branch of the universal church catholic, within which he did not include those reformed bodies which had abandoned episcopacy without a plea of necessity. He believed in the supremacy of Holy Scripture and set varying degrees of value on the testimony of authorised standards such as the Creeds, the Prayer Book and the Catechism. He valued the writings of the early Fathers, but more especially as witnesses and expositors of scriptural truth when a 'catholic consent' of them could be established. He upheld in a qualified way the primacy of dogma and laid emphasis on the doctrine of sacramental grace, both in the eucharist and in baptism, while normally eschewing the Roman Catholic principle of *ex opere operato*. He tended to cultivate a practical spirituality based on good works nourished by sacramental grace and exemplified in acts of self-denial and charity rather than on any subjective conversion experience or unruly pretended manifestations of the Holy Spirit. He stressed the divine

communion with the see of Canterbury" (ODCC, p. 65). On the general connotations of 'Anglican' and 'Anglicanism' see Avis, *Anglicanism*, p. 406-407.

⁴¹Peter Nockles, 'Church parties in the pre-Tractarian Church of England 1750-1833: The 'Orthodox' - some problems of definition and identity', in John Walsh/Colin Haydon/Stephen Taylor (ed.), *The Church of England c. 1689 - c. 1833. From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 334.

rather than popular basis of political allegiance and obligation. His political principles might be classed as invariably Tory though by no means always in a narrowly political party sense, and were characterised by a high view of kingship and monarchical authority. He upheld the importance of a religious establishment but insisted also on the duty of the state as a divinely-ordained rather than merely secular entity, to protect and promote the interests of the church.⁴²

Unlike Tractarian ecclesiological accentuation the word 'Protestant' was in the old High Church terminology generally by no means repudiated. On the contrary, Pre-Tractarian High Churchmen were even, as Nockles demonstrated, "proud of the title 'Protestant'"⁴³. Charles Daubeney (1745-1827), one of those outstanding Anglican High Church dignitaries whose firm promotion of Catholic principles clearly predated the endeavours of the Oxford Movement, described as late as 1821 the Church of England as in the possession of "the best and surest bulwark of Protestantism, the glory of the Reformation, and the most correct image of the purest antiquity"⁴⁴. Avis maintains that between the English Reformation and the Oxford Movement

there existed a consensus as to the identity of Anglicanism as a Reformed Church confessing with all the Reformers the supreme authority of Scripture, justification by faith, the legitimate role of the laity (embodied in the sovereign and Parliament) in the government of the Church, and a national identity and integrity⁴⁵.

⁴²Peter Benedict Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context. Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 25-26.

⁴³Ibid., p. 154.

⁴⁴Charles Daubeney, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Sarum, At this Visitation in the Year 1821* (London: John Hatchard and Son, 1821), p. 6.

⁴⁵Avis, *Anglicanism*, p. 410.

Traced back to the hermeneutic problem of *scriptura et traditio*, the essentially Protestant character of Anglicanism therefore rests according to Avis above all upon

the place it gives to Scripture as 'the norm of faith and the norm by which other norms (creeds, tradition, confessions of faith) are judged'...It was by comparison with the touchstone of Scripture that the Reformers rejected aspects of medieval Catholicism: the papacy, the mediatory office of the priesthood, the propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass, communion in one kind, the liturgy in a foreign tongue not 'understood of the people' and clerical celibacy. It was on the authority of Scripture - at least the Old Testament - that they upheld the role of the 'godly prince', the magistrate, as the supreme governor in both Church and state. Again it was by appeal to Scripture that the English Reformers maintained the doctrine of justification by faith alone, without merit accruing to good works, and furthermore insisted on this doctrine as the article of a standing or falling Church (*articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiae*) as Luther put it⁴⁶.

Yet even though Sack, contemporary of Rose and Pusey, described England in his above mentioned *Ansichten* as a "ächt protestantisches Land"⁴⁷, it seems that the Anglican understanding of Protestantism, due to its unique insular development, never really fitted into the categories of its Continental equivalents. Keith Robbins has written in this context of "borrowings from Lutheranism and Calvinism" by the Church of England but maintained in conclusion that: "despite the wishes of some factions in its history, it was neither Lutheran nor Reformed in a continental sense. It was however, Protestant, or at least was perceived by most of its early nineteenth-century adherents to be Protestant"⁴⁸.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 417.

⁴⁷Karl Heinrich Sack, *Ansichten und Beobachtungen über Religion und Kirche in England* (Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung, 1818), p. 17. [truly Protestant country].

⁴⁸Robbins, *Germany*, p. 6.

Furthermore, the question remains whether High Churchmen from the seventeenth century onwards really meant the same thing as the reformers when they prided themselves on being Protestant. The particular High Church application of the label 'Protestant' gives the term, on the whole, a considerable shift of meaning and by the same token underlines the general denominational problem of reducing the complex concept of Protestantism to a common systematic denominator. In contrast to the usage of the German as well as the English reformers, who also conjured up anti-Roman overtones with the term 'Protestant', it could be argued that the conventional High Churchmen put less emphasis on the positive appropriation of the principles of the Reformation. Thus according to such an understanding, the Protestant identity of the Church of England was first of all drawn from its claim of possessing true catholicity as opposed to Roman Catholicism, which was commonly seen as a corrupt branch of the universal Church. Anglican Protestantism, as Daubeny defined it in his popular *Guide to the Church* (1798)

consisted in the right which one independent branch of the Church of Christ claims, of protesting, in its collective character, against the errors of another branch of it; with which, from local circumstances, it may or may not hold communion⁴⁹.

In his study of the Church of England and episcopacy from 1914, Arthur James Mason (1851-1928), himself a late representative of the older High Church tradition, deemed it necessary to call to mind that "the reformed church of England has always refused to be considered as an offspring of

⁴⁹Charles Daubeny, *A Guide to the Church in Several Discourses; to which are Added, Two Postscripts; The First, To Those Members of the Church who occasionally Frequent other Places of Public Worship; The Second, To the Clergy. Addressed to William Wilberforce, Esq., M.P.* (London: T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies 1798) p. 149-150.

the age of the Reformation...it claims continuity with the church of apostolic times"⁵⁰. Bishop Joseph Hall (1574-1656) even went so far as to maintain that "no Church in the world comes so neare to the Apostolike forme, as the Church of England"⁵¹. Ironically, only few years later, Hall's own confidence in the English Church was to be sorely tried; during the persecution of the bishops by Parliament after 1640, he was first sent to the Tower, then his episcopal revenues were sequestrated, his cathedral desecrated and in 1647 Hall himself was finally ejected from his episcopal palace. However, it is precisely that habitual Anglican appeal to antiquity and continuity, to which Hall, Daubeney and Mason *unisono* alluded, which gave the labels 'Protestant', 'Reformed' and 'Catholic' their distinctive High Church stance. Thus, Mason argued:

Those who represent the main stream of Anglican tradition, however, protestant their language may at times have been, have believed that they were acting and teaching in the spirit, not only of the apostles, but also of the fathers, and carrying on unchanged the life of the church of the first six centuries.⁵²

It is of significance to notice that the Anglican emphasis on the 'historic episcopate' did not from the outset constitute an intrinsic division from other churches. On the contrary, the English reformers, as specially Norman Sykes demonstrated in his *Old Priest and New Presbyter*, saw not as much in the institution of episcopacy as in the principle of the 'godly prince' the distinctive mark of the Anglican system of church

⁵⁰Arthur James Mason, *The Church of England and Episcopacy* (Cambridge: University Press, 1914), p 1.

⁵¹Joseph Hall, *Episcopacie by Divine Right Asserted* (London: Nathanael Butter, 1640), p. 16.

⁵²Mason, *Episcopacy*, p. 3.

government⁵³. Comparing the theological dimension of Continental and Anglican principles of church polity Sykes maintained,

There existed, therefore, considerable grounds for mutual co-operation and alliance between the churches of the Reformation. On the one side such typical Anglicans as Whitgift and Hooker, whilst defending tenaciously the retention of episcopacy on the basis of history and tradition, denied that any one form of government was prescribed in scripture in such wise as to allow of no departure from it. On the other side, Calvin himself held that one church should not despise another on account of a variety of external discipline: and there was a general agreement that the essential notes of a true church were the preaching of the Word purely and the administration of the sacraments according to Christ's ordinance. Moreover there was a good deal in common on the controverted terrain of church polity and order between the offices of bishop and superintendent; for Lutheranism retained some episcopal functions in its superintendents, and some Anglicans were prepared to regard the choice of title as indifferent provided that the pastoral nature of the office was safe-guarded and realised.⁵⁴

As late as in early nineteenth century, even High Churchmen, such as the American High Church divine John Henry Hobart (1775 -1831), who as Bishop of New York was to become a close associate of Rose, were able to maintain an eirenic attitude towards the non-episcopal Lutheran Churches in Germany on the ground that their system of superintendency preserved at least in substance the function of episcopal oversight:

⁵³See Norman Sykes, *Old Priest and New Presbyter* (Cambridge: University Press, 1957): "For Jewel, Whitgift, and Hooker therefore the royal supremacy was the keystone of the arch of ecclesiastical polity, since it 'may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture', and episcopacy had proved itself of divine authority by its continuance from the apostolic age until their own time; whilst in the Church of England both the godly prince and the godly bishop had co-operated to reform abuses and restore sound doctrine." (p. 28). On the development of the Anglican understanding of episcopacy, see Richard A. Norris, 'Episcopacy', in Sykes, *Anglicanism*, pp. 296-309.

⁵⁴Sykes, *Old Priest*, p. 42. See Norris, *Episcopacy*, pp. 303-307.

The Lutheran Churches of Sweden and Denmark have preserved the Episcopal succession and even those Lutheran Churches of Germany who could not preserve the succession of Bishops, entertained so great a respect for Episcopacy, and for its ancient and primitive claims, and were also so impressed with the utility, that they adopted and still maintain the forms; having distinction of rank in the ministry, and placing over the clergy superintendents, to exercise the general powers of superintendence and government.⁵⁵

As far as the ecumenical impact of Anglican ecclesiological thought and practice is concerned, solidarity with the non-episcopal reformed Churches, as in Germany, was based mainly on the ground of 'necessity'. It was generally assumed, as Bishop Hall's apologetic affirmed:

Thus those learned Divines and Protestants of Germany; where in all the world sees the Apologist professeth for them, that they greatly desired to conserve the government of Bishops, that they were altogether unwillingly driven from it, that it was utterly against their heart, that it should have been impaired or weakened: That it was onley the personall cruelty and violence of the Romish Persecutors in a bloody Opposition to the doctrine of the Gospell, which was then excepted against.⁵⁶

Hall's ensuing meticulous proof of the German reformers' willingness to maintain and establish episcopal government is coloured by the irenic intention of belittling the ecclesiological divisions of the Churches of the Reformation and is therefore open to the objection of giving an unbalanced portrait of its subject. Indeed, it is generally agreed, as Norris stated, "that the first reformers, both Lutheran and Calvinist, had no objection to

⁵⁵John Henry Hobart, *An Apology for Apostolic Order and its Advocates, Occaisioned By the Strictures and Denunciations of the Christian's Magazine. In as series of letters to the Rev. John M. Mason, D.D. the Editor of that Work* (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1807), pp. 97-98.

⁵⁶Hall, *Episcopacie*, p. 12.

episcopacy in principle"⁵⁷. Luther himself exercised the right to ordain in practice by consecrating Nikolaus von Amsdorf (1483-1565) Bishop of Naumburg in 1542 and Prince Georg of Anhalt-Dessau (1507-1553) Bishop of Merseburg in 1545. His treatise *Exempel, einen rechten christlichen Bischof zu weihen*⁵⁸ (1542) was specifically written for those occasions. Furthermore, Luther's *Schmalkaldic Articles* from 1537, which eventually became part of the Lutheran Confessions, clearly acknowledged his readiness to retain episcopacy in principle:

If the bishops were true bishops and were concerned about the church and the Gospel, they might be permitted (for the sake of love and unity, but not of necessity) to ordain and confirm us and our preachers, provided this could be done without pretense, humbug, and unchristian ostentation⁵⁹.

Here evidently was the focal point of the Lutheran understanding of the episcopal office. Luther, in accordance with Melanchthon's argumentation in his *Augsburg Confession*, undoubtedly approved episcopacy as such, but not as the normative ordering of the church. Bishops were "permitted" as an optional guarantee of Christian welfare and unity at most but they did not by any means define the identity of the church. Moreover, in the same article Luther himself already contradicted the later argument that the ecclesiastical conditions of the contemporary hierarchy as such would finally have prevented the realisation of episcopal government.

However, they neither are nor wish to be true bishops. They are temporal lords and princes who are unwilling to preach or teach or baptize or administer Communion or discharge any office or work

⁵⁷Sykes, *Old Priest*, p. 35.

⁵⁸[Example to consecrate a right Christian bishop].

⁵⁹Schmalkaldic Articles, arts. III, X, in *The Book of Concord. The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, Translated and edited by Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), p. 314.

in the church. More than that, they expel, persecute, and condemn those who have been called to do these things. Yet the church must not be deprived of ministers on their account. Accordingly, as we are taught by the examples of the ancient churches and Fathers, we shall and ought ourselves ordain suitable persons to this office.⁶⁰

Thus, in conclusion, although the Wittenberg reformers canonically acknowledged the institution of episcopacy in principle, the office of the bishop remained in last analysis a constitutional *adiaphoron*. The lack of the episcopal system of church government in some of the Lutheran Churches, therefore, was due to the new ecclesiological concept of the Reformation, not ultimately compelling an episcopal order but leaving it within the bounds of possibility. As a consequence, from the very beginning, the Lutheran churches had embodied and exercised ecclesiastical oversight in a variety of forms, episcopal and non-episcopal.

Since the Church according to Lutheran belief is not an objective institute of salvation but in the first instance rather a *civitas spiritualis*, ecclesiological concepts have been issues of controversial debate right from the beginning.⁶¹ Those pluralistic arrangements of church government decisively formed Anglican-Lutheran relations in the years to come. Lutheranism through Anglican eyes was not an entity which could be treated uniformly but with due regard to the regional differences of its member-churches.⁶² Therefore, the legality of Swedish Lutheranism was never seriously called in question by Anglicans on the ground that the

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹See *TRE*, vol. 15 (1990), pp. 59-68., *RGG* 3, vol. 3 (1957), pp. 1570-1584.

⁶²See Mason, *Episcopacy*, pp. 512-527.

reformed Church of Sweden had preserved the apostolic succession.⁶³ In Denmark and Norway, on the other hand, the situation was already slightly more complicated. Although both countries retained the institution of episcopacy, as result of the specific course of the Reformation, they lacked the essential aspect of an uninterrupted apostolic succession.

In Germany, as elsewhere, the Reformation was as much a political as it was a religious affair. When Luther had come to realise that the German episcopate almost in its entirety refused to take up the demands of the Reformation, he turned in his writing *To the Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate* (1520) to the secular authority to assign those with public responsibility with the reform of the Church:

The time for silence is past, and the time to speak has come, as Ecclesiastes says. I am carrying out our intention to put together a few points on the matter of the reform of the Christian estate, to be laid before the Christian nobility of the German nation, in the hope that God may help his church through the laity, since the clergy, to whom this task more properly belongs, have grown quite indifferent.⁶⁴

Luther's demands on the sovereigns to take the initiative for the sake of the welfare of the Church resulted from the theological concept of the priesthood of all believers by which the distinction between priests and the laity became irrelevant.

⁶³A fine example for the Anglican attitude towards the Reformed Church of Sweden can be found in A. Nicholson, *Apostolic Succession in the Church of Sweden* (London: Rivingtons, 1880).

⁶⁴Martin Luther, 'To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate' (1520), in *LW*, vol. 44, p. 123.

Since those who exercise secular authority have been baptized with the same baptism, and have the same faith and the same gospel as the rest of us, we must admit that they are priests and bishops and we must regard their office as one which has a proper and useful place in the Christian community. For whoever comes out of water of baptism can boast that he is already a consecrated priest, bishop, and pope, although of course it is not seemly that just anybody should exercise such office.⁶⁵

With the first Diet of Speyer (1526), where the princes of the German Empire were granted the right to order ecclesiastical affairs in accordance with their conscience, the consolidation of Evangelical *Landeskirchen* began. It is true that Luther openly entrusted the German princes with the organisation of the Reformation, yet there is enough evidence that due to the given state of emergency Luther as well as Melanchthon first only thought of an interim solution. Luther later spoke of the rulers as "emergency bishops" (*Notbischöfe*).⁶⁶

For as much as Luther on the one hand redefined the theological dimension of the secular authorities, he also by the same token unambiguously laid down their limits. The separation of the spiritual and secular orders, as defined in his *Temporal Authority: To What Extent it Should be Obeyed* (1523), is a fundamental characteristic of Luther's ecclesiology (*Zwei-Reiche-Lehre*!). In questions of faith and conscience the secular authorities have no control over men; the pursuance of the spiritual kingdom of the Church (*potestas ecclesiastica*) was not within the jurisdiction of the rulers but exclusively of the parishes and clergy. Only the parishes have the right and power "to judge all doctrine and to appoint

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 129.

⁶⁶See *TRE* vol. 19 (1990), p.62.

and dismiss teachers [pastors]"⁶⁷. In their exposed position (*membrum praecipium ecclesiae*, Melanchthon) the princes had special duties and a share of the responsibility for the Church. However, according to the reformer's understanding, those special obligations were restricted only to the external custody of the Church (*cura religionis*).⁶⁸

If your prince or temporal ruler commands you to side with the pope, to believe thus or so, or to get rid of certain books, you should say, 'It is not fitting that Lucifer should sit at the side of God. Gracious sir, I owe you obedience in body and property; command me within the limits of your authority on earth, and I will obey. But if you command me to believe or to get rid of certain books, I will not obey; for then you are a tyrant and overreach yourself, commanding where you have neither the right nor the authority.'⁶⁹

In short, the consolidation of the Protestant cause heavily depended in the German principalities on the consent and co-operation of the princes and rulers; and what has been seen first as a provisional arrangement soon became the valid norm for centuries. Although Luther viewed the increasing exertion of influence by the rulers with concern⁷⁰, the German Reformation, by following the dictates of external circumstances, had set a constitutional agenda, which in the following years was open to being undermined by and instrumentalised within the new dynamics of the state. Thus the Evangelical Churches gradually came almost entirely under the control of the secular authorities. The constitutional impact of the sovereigns on the Evangelical Churches, later to be known by the term

⁶⁷See Martin Luther, 'Das eyne Christliche versamlung odder gemeine recht vnd macht habe alle lere tzu vrteylen und lerer tzu beruffen eyne vnd abtzuete Grund vnd vrsach aus der schrift', in *STA*, vol. 3. p. 75.

⁶⁸See *RGG* 3, vol. 1 (1957), pp. 1889-1890.

⁶⁹Martin Luther, 'Temporal Authority: To What Extent it Should be Obeyed' (1523), in *LW*, vol. 45, pp. 111-112.

⁷⁰See *TRE* vol. 19 (1990), pp. 59-63.

*Landesherrliches Kirchenregiment*⁷¹, was tremendous not only on the appearance but also on the identity of German Protestantism.

The canonical legitimation for the concept of the *Landesherrliches Kirchenregiment* was defined by a number of successive theories in the post-Reformation period. On basis of the Peace of Augsburg (1555), the settlement of religious affairs in the German Empire which recognised the existence of both Catholicism and Lutheranism⁷², the Protestant princes were given episcopal jurisdiction over their sovereign territories; by Imperial law the ruler now was the holder of the secular authority and by the same time also *summus episcopus*. This secular-spiritual omnipotence of the ruler contradicted, as Hans-Walter Krumwiede stated, the ecclesiological concept of the Reformation, but "meant for the Evangelical territories a chance of survival granted by Imperial law and thus could not have been disregarded by them"⁷³. However, according to this theory of *Episcopalism* [*Epikopalismus*]⁷⁴ the spiritual jurisdiction of the princes was limited to matters concerning the external government of the Church (*potestas circa sacra*), whereas the internal theological regiment (*potestas ecclesiastica interna*) was left to the clergy.

In the course of the further historico-cultural developments the idea of *Episcopalism* became gradually obsolete. Especially with the penetration of Absolutism and the early stages of the Enlightenment, the relation

⁷¹[sovereign's government of the Church].

⁷²The Peace of Augsburg did not yet recognize any other confessions than the Augsburg Confession as an official standard. The whole 'left wing' of the Reformation as well as Zwinglianism and Calvinism were excluded from the peace agreement.

⁷³*TRE* vol. 19 (1990), p.63.

⁷⁴See *RGG* 3, vol. 2 (1958), cols. 532-533.

between state and Church was rearranged by the application of the theory of *Territorialism* [*Territorialismus*].⁷⁵ Under the influence of the Rationalist idea of the natural right, the churches finally lost their exposed position in the structure of the early modern state. Due to the maxim *ecclesia est in civitate* the princely control over the Evangelical Churches was regarded as an integrated component of the authority of the state. Now, the ruler practised ecclesiastical government by virtue of his absolute sovereignty. This shift of emphasis had significant repercussions on the *cura religionis* of the sovereigns which now primarily served the welfare of the public rather than the welfare of the Church. As is well known, the classic definition of the new relation between state and religion can be found in the work of Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). In Germany, Samuel Freiherr von Pufendorf (1632-1694) and Christian Thomasius (1655-1728) were the chief representatives of Rationalist *Territorialism*. Indeed, not until the development of the theory of *Territorialism* can one speak of the Evangelical Churches in Germany as state churches. Although in theory the influence of the monarchs was still restricted to external matters related to the government of the Church, the princes, as shown by the example of Prussia, gradually managed to bring the Christian estate entirely under their control.

With the advance of the Enlightenment, *Territorialism*, however, was subject to further modifications which took the new understanding of state and society fully into account. All social institutions, including state and church, were based on social contracts and human agreements. According to the theory of *Collegialism* [*Kollegialismus*]⁷⁶, the understanding of the

⁷⁵See *RGG* 3, vol. 6 (1962), col. 692.

⁷⁶*RGG* 3, vol. 3 (1959), cols. 1720-1721.

Church as of divine foundation diminished in favour of a new concept which regarded the church merely as a *collegium*, an association within and under the supervision the state. It should be born in mind that the Enlightenment did not specially develop new theological criteria for the understanding of the *esse* of the Church but followed largely those ecclesiological principles which were developed in Pietism. Therefore the Church was first of all regarded as the amalgamation and organisation of Christians within the prevailing ethos. As such the Church did not any longer coincide with society in terms of the medieval *corpus christianum* but had to be seen as a limited association within society alongside other cultural associations.⁷⁷ However, the Enlightenment had seen the introduction of new emphases. The general ecclesiological frameworks of that age helped tremendously to bring the deeply inner-Protestant conflict over the Church to the surface. The interest in the Church as a theological topic altogether faded in importance. As Semler, one of the fathers of historical criticism within theology, claimed: "For the acceptance and application of religion there is no need for special societies."⁷⁸

Naturally, Anglican High Church ecclesiology eventually took exception to these developments in German Lutheranism. The subsequent course of the established Lutheran Churches in the mother country of the Reformation showed that the abandonment of episcopacy could in the end hardly be convincingly explained away with the traditional plea of 'necessity'. The German Lutherans were not precisely "unwillingly driven from it" as some Anglican apologists argued; the disappearance of the

⁷⁷On Pietist ecclesiological principles, see Rössler, *Grundriß*, pp. 281-285.

⁷⁸Johann Salomo Semler, *Versuch einer freieren theologischen Lehrart*, 1777, Cited in *ibid.*, p. 283.

office of bishop in most German Lutheran *Landeskirchen* until as late as 1918 was, apart from the given historical circumstances, in the last analysis rather a natural consequence of the ecclesiological concept of the German Reformation which dissolved those questions about the objective structure of the Church into matter of free choice.

Thus the debate over the importance of church order, especially whether the 'historic episcopate' belonged to the very definition of the Church (*esse*), to her 'well-being' (*bene esse*), or 'full being' (*plene esse*) gradually created divisions between English High Churchmen and those foreign Protestant churches whose ministries were not episcopally ordained. For a "belief in the divine basis of a threefold ministerial order, an episcopal system of church government and a lineal succession of the episcopate represented," as Nockles stated, "a key component of traditional High Churchmanship"⁷⁹. Grane has described the ecclesiological concept of the Augsburg Confession as "preconfessionalistic", since "it in no way envisions nor encompasses the idea of a confession as a line of demarcation of one denomination from another"⁸⁰.

The theory of Anglican High Church catholicity, on the other hand, had already drawn the consequences from the schism between the Anglican and Catholic Churches and from the traumatic experiences of the lasting internal controversies over Presbyterianism and the Puritan cause of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, namely that the preservation of apostolic order through the institution of the episcopate is an indispensable

⁷⁹Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 146.

⁸⁰Leif Grane, *The Augsburg Confession. A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1987), p. 97.

criterion of the true Church.⁸¹ Thus the aspect of external, demonstrable unity which found its expression in the office of the bishop became the standard by which other Churches could be judged by Anglican High Churchmen on their claims to true catholicity: "Every Christian society, possessing the characteristic marks of the Church of Christ", considered Daubney in his *Guide to the Church*,

to be a separate branch of the Catholic or Universal visible Church upon earth. The Church of England, the Church of Ireland, and the episcopal church of Scotland and America possess these marks. In the same light, the churches of Denmark, Sweden and Rome, are to be considered, not to mention the great remains of the once-famous Greek church, now to be found in the empire of Russia and in the East.⁸²

Given that this claim to apostolicity of order was a key component of traditional High Church ecclesiology, Mason could not see anything new in the Tractarian insistence upon the apostolic succession apart from "the

⁸¹See Norris, *Episcopacy*, p.p. 303-304, "There are, then, certain principles which, in the controversies of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, became the common property of Anglicanism. In the office of bishop the apostolic function of oversight, which includes and indeed derives from the power of ordination, is continued. Further, the institution of episcopacy, whether by reason of apostolic institution or by reason of the universal practice of the Church, is normative for the government of the Church. Finally, regular episcopal succession in office - which requires succession through the laying-on of hands of other bishops - not only guarantees the legitimacy of the Church's ministry but establishes the local church's unity, communion, and continuity with the universal Church." See Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 153.

⁸²Charles Daubeny, *An Appendix to the 'Guide to the Church' in which the principles advanced in that work are more fully maintained; in answer to objections brought against them by Sir Richard Hill, Bart. in his letters addressed to the Author under the title of 'An Apology for Brotherly Love'* (London: J. Hatchard, 1799), pp. 106-107.

rigid aloofness with which the Tractarians regarded the foreign churches which were without it."⁸³

Indeed, the general nineteenth-century British reception of German theology was overshadowed by the strong hostility of the protagonists of the Oxford Movement. Newman, as is well known, did not think 'anything great of the Continental Churches'⁸⁴. Although he considered Luther at one point to a certain degree even nearer to the Church of Rome than the Church of England⁸⁵, he nevertheless upheld the view of the Continental reformers as the founders of sects and correspondingly referred to Lutherans as members of a sect or party who like other Protestants were divided from the English Church more about fundamental principles than about facts⁸⁶. Newman's 'horror of continental Protestants' rumbled on and was brought to a temporary head by the ephemeral intermezzo of the crisis over the Anglo-Prussian 'Jerusalem Bishopric' of October 1841.⁸⁷ In his public protest to the Bishop of Oxford, Newman objected to the ecumenical dimension of the proposed bishopric in Jerusalem in the strongest possible terms: "Lutheranism and Calvinism are heresies,

⁸³Mason, *Episcopacy*, p. 449.

⁸⁴See Max Keller-Hüschemenger, *Die Lehre der Kirche in der Oxford-Bewegung. Struktur und Funktion* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1974), p. 256.

⁸⁵See John Henry Newman, *Tract No. 38, Via Media* (London: J. & G. Rivington, 1839), p. 7: "Luther is, in some points, reckoned nearer the Romish Church than ourselves."

⁸⁶Unlike Roman Catholics, with whom Anglican controversy was to be considered as being more about facts than about principles or opinions. See H. D. Weidner (ed), *The Via Media of the Anglican Church by John Henry Newman* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 90.

⁸⁷On the Jerusalem Anglican Bishopric, see Sybil M. Jack, 'No Heavenly Jerusalem: The Anglican Bishopric, 1841-1883', in *JRH* vol. 19 (1995), pp. 181-203.

repugnant to Scripture...and anathematised by East as well as West."⁸⁸ Newman's hard-line position was largely echoed by the other promoters of the Oxford Movement. According to Robbins, there was no more extreme critic of the "evils of the Reformation" than Hurrell Froude (1803-1836).⁸⁹ Extreme is a term which certainly applies also to William George Ward (1812-1882) who, in one of his many assaults on Luther, brought up his polemical big guns against the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith:

Whether any heresy has ever infested the Church so hateful and unchristian as this doctrine, it is perhaps not necessary to determine: none certainly has ever prevailed so subtle and extensively poisonous...as far as its formal statements are concerned it poisons at the very root, not Christianity only, but natural religion.⁹⁰

Newman's brother-in-law, James Bowling Mozley (1813-1878), who remained a loyal Anglican, described the development of Continental Protestantism as a "mischievous system, compared with which the corruptions of Rome are as mere dust in the balance"⁹¹. On another occasion he summed up Tractarian hostility towards foreign churches with a clear and compact verdict of the invalid status of those institutions: "the Continental Churches (as they call themselves)...are not Churches"⁹².

To a great extent this negative reception of Luther and the Continental Reformation can be traced back to a superficial and limited knowledge of the foreign reformed Churches. The Tractarians were, as the Lutheran

⁸⁸John Henry Newman, *Apologia pro Vita Sua. Being a History of his Religious Opinions*, Edited, with an Introduction and Notes by Martin J. Svaglic (Oxford: University Press, 1967), p. 135.

⁸⁹See Robbins, *Protestant Germany*, p. 9.

⁹⁰*The British Critic*, vol. 32 (1842), p. 390.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁹²*Ibid.*, vol. 31 (1841), p. 499.

Yngve Brilioth had put it in his *Lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement* of 1933, "largely dependent on the second-hand and distorted presentation of Lutheranism which they found in [English] Evangelicalism"⁹³. Brilioth described this indisputable ignorance of even the basic contents of Lutheran doctrine, such as the Real Presence in the Eucharist, the general understanding of religion and the doctrine of justification by faith as the very heart of Lutheran teaching, as an "important and perhaps a fatal factor in the history of the Oxford Movement"⁹⁴. Yet it remains questionable whether the fortunes of the Church of England really would have been much different if Newman, as Dean Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815-1881) once indicated, "had been able to read German"⁹⁵. For the vigorous depth of Tractarian hostility towards Protestantism, which went so far as to 'unchurch' foreign reformed Churches *proprie dicta*, cannot merely be traced back to the limitations of their theological training.⁹⁶ It was rather that genuine spiritual zeal for a revival of Catholic principles within the English Church, which by the same token almost intrinsically conditioned Tractarian perception of Protestantism as an ecclesiological system. Thus the new High Church school at Oxford, by terminating the ties with the other Churches of the Reformation, constituted a unique addition to the conventional theological controversies which had determined the relations between Catholics and Protestants for centuries.

⁹³Yngve Brilioth, *Three Lectures on Evangelism and the Oxford Movement together with a Lecture on the Theological Aspect of the Oxford Movement and a Sermon preached in Fairford Church on 11 July 1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 8.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 75. See also Keller-Hüschemenger, *Lehre*, pp. 226-227, 256-257.

⁹⁵M Pattison, *Memoirs* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1885), pp. 210-211.

⁹⁶See Brilioth, *Lectures*, p. 8.

In 1834 Newman regarded the appellation 'Protestant' as an "uncomfortable and perplexing word"⁹⁷. However, this uneasiness, or what Mason had called 'rigid aloofness' towards foreign Protestantism was by no means a sudden ideological invention of the Oxford Movement but, as Nockles demonstrated, has to be seen rather as the result of an increasing hardening in the wider Anglican High Church party, above all over the question of church order.⁹⁸ Bishop Jeremy Taylor's (1613-1667) feelings of disquiet about those reformed Churches which had failed to re-establish apostolical discipline is an early evidence for this significant change in ecumenical opinion which the High Church emphasis on the institution of episcopacy brought about:

What think we of the reformed churches? For my part I know not what to think; the question hath been so often asked, with so much violence and prejudice, and we are so bound by public interest to approve all that they do, that we have disabled ourselves to justify our own. For we were glad at first of abettors against the errors of the Roman church; we found these men zealous in it; we thanked God for it, as we had cause; and we were willing to make them recompense by endeavouring to justify their ordinations, not thinking what would follow upon ourselves; but now it is come to that issue that our own episcopacy is though not necessary, because we did not condemn the ordinations of their presbytery.⁹⁹

A generation later, in his long-winded controversy with the leading Tory spokesman Francis Atterbury (1663-1732) and his High Church colleagues on church polity and episcopal order, the Whig Latitudinarian polemicist Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1761), already saw himself confronted with a strong diminishing sense of solidarity between older High Churchmen and the Continental non-episcopal Churches of the Reformation:

⁹⁷Cited in Keller-Hüschemenger, *Lehre*, p 257.

⁹⁸See Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 158-159.

⁹⁹Cited in Sykes, *Old Priest*, p. 58.

Ever since the Reformation we know the Church of England has always maintain'd a tender regard to the Sister Churches of the Reformation Abroad ... But instead of this, too many of our Clergy, I fear are run into a Notion, which is not only directly contrary to all this, but does, in a manner, Excommunicate, not only all our own Dissenters, but even all the Reformed Churches too; and instead of allowing them to be Churches, will not so much as allow 'em to be Christians.¹⁰⁰

By 1800, High Church tolerance of the ecclesiological principles of foreign Protestant churches had waned and High Churchmen saw generally, as David Forrester pointed out, "little in common between their Protestantism and that of Geneva or Wittenberg"¹⁰¹. The ecclesiological self-definition of the Hackney Phalanx churchman Henry Handley Norris (1771-1850) from 1812 is revealing:

If names had any weight, I much more highly prize the title of a Catholic than that of a Protestant which later appellation I am by no means proud of, as it confounds one with those from whom Christianity I verily believe has suffered more outrages than from the Papists themselves. The distinguishing title of a member of the Church of England is a Reformed Catholic - and this places him in a central position from which the Papist and the larger portion of that mixed multitude known by the name of Protestant diverge, in opposite directions indeed but to equal distances.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰Benjamin Hoadly, *A Serious Enquiry into the Present State of the Church of England: Or, the Danger of the Church from the Rashness of the Clergy. In a letter to Dr. Atterbury, Prolacutor to the Lower House of Convocation* (London: J. Baker, 1711), pp. 15-16.

¹⁰¹Forrester, *Pusey*, p. 33.

¹⁰²H. H. Norris to R. Churton, 30 September 1812. Cited in Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 154.

2.3 Hugh James Rose: or did the Oxford Movement start in Cambridge? Encounter with a forgotten godfather of nineteenth-century Anglican revival

To mention Mr. Hugh Rose's name is to kindle in the minds of those who knew him a host of pleasant and affectionate remembrances. He was the man above all others fitted by his cast of mind and literary powers to make a stand, if a stand could be made, against the calamity of the times. He was gifted with a high and large mind, and a true sensibility of what was great and beautiful; he wrote with warmth and energy; and he had a cool head and cautious judgement. He spent his strength and shortened his life, *Pro Ecclesia Dei*, as he understood that sovereign idea.¹⁰³

Looking back to the development of his religious opinions from 1833 to 1839, the formative years of the Oxford Movement, in his *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, John Henry Newman has left a remarkable memorial to the significance of Hugh James Rose (1795-1838) for that special period of English church history. In spite of an ambivalent relationship between the two men during their life-times which led to their mutual estrangement, Newman acknowledged in his spiritual reminiscences Rose's enormous contribution to the Anglican revival. For generations Tractarian historiography successfully bequeathed a misleading picture of the Oxford Movement's origins as though it had sprung out of nothing. Moreover, the gradual and inexorable advance of the new Oxford school of High Churchmanship was largely at the expense of the reputation of their predecessors. According to popular mythology, the intimate circle around Newman, Keble, Froude and Pusey, was exclusively responsible for the initial great revival of Catholic principles which roused the Church of

¹⁰³Newman, *Apologia*, pp. 44-45.

England from a supposed eighteenth-century torpor. In his recent study *The Oxford Movement in Context*, Nockles has reversed this idealised historical perspective by demonstrating the manifold impact of the older High Church school on the formation of Tractarian ideology:

The Tractarians sharpened a sense of High Church party identity in the Church, but did not and could not create it. In their church principles, sacramental teaching, spirituality and even political theology, they owed more than they usually acknowledged, not only to the Caroline phase of the High Church tradition but to the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century witnesses to that tradition. But 1833 was in another sense a genuine watershed. For Tractarianism diverged both spiritually and theologically from old High Churchmanship. Thus Tractarian historiography was mistaken in suggesting that the Oxford Movement first rediscovered 'Anglicanism' and that what became known as 'Anglo-Catholicism' was a natural or lineal evolution.¹⁰⁴

Nockles's reconsideration of the setting of the Oxford Movement is a stimulating account of the debate on the Catholic revival in the English Church. However, his rehabilitation of the pre-Tractarian promoters of Catholic principles echoes claims already made by the heirs of those schools themselves. John William Burgon's *Life of Twelve Good Men* (1888) is a good apologetic example of the bitterness with which the supporters of old High churchmanship attempted to counter the claims of Tractarian historiography:

To read of the great Church Revival of 1833 as it presents itself to the imagination of certain writers, one would suppose that in their account the publication of the earliest of the '*Tracts for the Times*' had the magical effect of kindling into glory the dead embers of an all-but-extinct Church. The plain truth is that the smouldering materials for the cheerful blaze which followed the efforts made in 1832-3-4 had been accumulating unobserved for many years: had

¹⁰⁴Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 307.

been the residuum of the altar-fires of a long succession of holy and earnest men.¹⁰⁵

Burgon's memoir of Rose in particular illustrates the extent to which, it was believed, Tractarian predominance created disunity within Anglican identity in the long term. He blamed the Tractarians, especially Newman, for a fatal theological fragmentation of the Anglican community, through a misdirected and relentless zealotry.

The Tractarian leaders of the movement, strange to relate, seem to have been haunted by a suspicion that the office of the Theologian is to exaggerate sacred Truth, the business of a Divine, to 'startle' mankind ... The Editors of the later 'Tracts' did not perceive that by the course they were pursuing, (intending nothing less,) they were bringing discredit on Catholic antiquity generally; - sowing distrust and suspicion in a thousand quarters; - paving the way for many a dreary secession to Rome, on the one hand, - many a lapse into blank unbelief, on the other.¹⁰⁶

By questioning the contribution of the Tractarians, Burgon systematically enhanced Rose's role in the incipient Catholic revival and portrayed him not only as the guarantor of a more sensitive and moderate course but even as the true originator of that movement: "It will become more and more

¹⁰⁵Burgon, *Lives*, first edition, vol. 1, pp. 153-154. See also p. 178: "This preliminary chapter in the history of the Oxford Movement has been somewhat overlooked by those who have undertaken to describe its origin and progress. Quite plain is it that the heart of the Church of England was still sound. Churchmanship ... was evoked - not created by these appeals."

¹⁰⁶Ibid., pp. 223-225 Here, Burgon anticipated some aspects of Nockles's re-evaluation of the Oxford Movement, *ibid.*, p. 326, "In the short term, the Oxford Movement might be deemed a failure. The Church of England was weakened by the theological fragmentation of Anglicanism into constituent parts which the Tractarian 'rediscovery' of the seventeenth-century tradition spawned. Disunion, extremism and party spirit were all apparent consequences of a relentless quest for true catholicity and apostolic purity. While originally only aiming to restore to the Anglican tradition its understated continuity the Tractarians eventually tested that tradition to destruction."

apparent, as we proceed, that if to any one man is to be assigned the honour of having originated the great Catholic Revival of our times, that man was Hugh James Rose."¹⁰⁷ Burgon's image of Rose as the great "restorer of old paths" corresponded with a widespread perception among old High Churchmen that with Rose as leader the promising beginnings of that movement could have taken another direction. "Had this noble man lived", wrote William Palmer of Worcester (1803-1885) in the *Contemporary Review*, reminiscing about his late friend Rose, "he would have been the greatest ornament and the most trusted leader of his church."¹⁰⁸ Yet, one has to take into account that by the time Burgon's biographical account was published only half a century after the death of its subject, Rose was widely unknown.

Mankind show themselves strangely forgetful of their chiefest benefactors. The name above written [Hugh James Rose] besides being a boast and a praise, was reckoned a tower of strength by Churchmen of a generation which has already well nigh passed away. Pronounced now in the hearing of those who have been in the Ministry ten, fifteen, twenty years, it is discovered to be unknown to them. And yet this was the man who, sixty years ago, at a time of universal gloom, panic and despondency, rallied the faint-hearted as with a trumpet blast; - awoke the sleepers; - aroused the sluggish; - led on to glory the van of the Church's army.¹⁰⁹

Indeed, posterity seems to have passed over the life of Rose. Historical research on the Oxford Movement at most reserves for him a place in its footnotes. One of the recent studies on Rose, undertaken by one of his successors as Professor of Divinity at Durham, Michael Ramsey, goes as

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 158.

¹⁰⁸Cited in *ibid.*, p. 161.

¹⁰⁹See Burgon, *Lives*, first edition, vol. 1, p. 116.

far back as 1941.¹¹⁰ If one takes this situation into account, one of the major contributions of Nockles's work on the historical context of the Oxford Movement is to have prepared the way for the historical rehabilitation of a whole generation of outstanding churchmen who have been cast into oblivion by Tractarian historiography. Moreover, the significant accounts by both Burgon and Newman on the origins of the Catholic revival in the English Church seem to provide enough justification for renewed investigation into the faded memory of Rose.

Yet, as will appear, the 'rediscovery' of Rose has not only to face the problem of his overwhelming historical neglect but also the fact that his role in nineteenth-century Anglicanism has become the subject of vehement controversy. More than any other representative of his High Church generation, Rose's legacy divided opinion sharply in the wake of his death; partly because his premature departure permitted the widest speculation on the possible alternative course of the Catholic revival in the Church of England; and partly because of the extremely ambivalent and complex character of his relationship with the Tractarians. In short, the entire debate on Rose's significance is greatly overshadowed by the questionable legacy of the Oxford Movement.

In strong contrast to Burgon's enthusiastic eulogy on Rose as the 'forgotten father' of the Oxford Movement, Arthur Cayley Headlam (1862-1947), regius professor of divinity at Oxford (1918-1923) and thereafter Bishop of Gloucester (1923-1945), judged Rose to have been far less influential,

¹¹⁰See Arthur Michael Ramsey, 'Hugh James Rose', in the *Durham University Journal*, vol. 34, No.1 (December 1941), pp. 50-58.

suggesting that, with Rose as leader, the movement would probably never have happened:

The fact was that Rose had every good quality which would have ruined the Movement. He was a loyal High Churchman, absolutely satisfied with his position and unable to understand why it should not satisfy everyone else.¹¹¹

Headlam and Burgon are obviously worlds apart in their perception of Rose. In their own ways both presented tendentious and thus distorted images of Rose which doubtless say more about their general estimation of the Tractarians than about the 'historical Rose' himself. For his part Headlam sought to promote the "great things which the Oxford Movement taught the world" as opposed to a "narrow and exclusive Anglican theology"¹¹² for which the old High Church school supposedly stood. With this polemic intention, Headlam's portrait of Rose is little more than a caricature, one of a key-figure standing for an obsolete ecclesiastical concept whose close attachment with the church of his fathers prevented him from realising "that it was not possible to confine the whole human spirit within the somewhat strait limits of the English High church tradition."¹¹³

In view of these conflicting historical assessments and prejudiced claims of rival church parties over Rose, Ramsey deemed it rather hard "to determine the place of this Cambridge divine in the history of the English Church."¹¹⁴ In order to determine that place accurately one certainly cannot avoid the predominant questions concerning both Rose's

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²ibid., pp. 101-102.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 101.

¹¹⁴Ibid. 51.

complicated relationship with the Tractarians and the clarification of his disputed significance in the history of the Oxford Movement. But his involvement in the movement, if one narrowly dates it from Keble's assize sermon on 14 July 1833 to Rose's death on 22 December 1838, lasted for little more than five years. This case-study deals with the young Rose whose sermons on the state of German theology stood at the beginning of his public career, so that it focuses on Rose as a High Churchman without the overshadowing emphasis on his relationship with the Oxford Movement.

Despite his generally critical tone, Headlam nonetheless depicted Rose as "an admirable representative of the old High Church School of the Church of England. His academic position and learning, his social capacity, his religious earnestness, his high character all combine to shew us what that school could produce at its best."¹¹⁵ Indeed, there is no doubt that Rose may be regarded as one of the most outstanding and promising figures in English church life on the eve of the Oxford Movement. Highly respected as a preacher and as the founder and editor of many literary undertakings such as the *British Magazine and Monthly Register of Religious and Ecclesiastical Information*, the *Theological Library*, the *New General Biographical Dictionary*¹¹⁶ and the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*, Rose throughout his life enjoyed the favour and promotion of leading figures in the ecclesiastical establishment, including William Howley (1766-1848), Bishop of London (1813-1828) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1828-

¹¹⁵Arthur C. Headlam, 'Hugh James Rose and the Oxford Movement', in *The Church Quarterly Review*, vol. 93 (1922), p. 101.

¹¹⁶This project was only projected and partly arranged by Rose himself. The first volume was edited by his brother, John Henry Rose and the subsequent volumes under the editorship of the antiquary Thomas Wright.

1848)¹¹⁷, Charles James Blomfield (1786-1857), Howley's successor as Bishop of London (1828-1856), and William Van Mildert¹¹⁸ (1765-1836), the last Bishop of Durham with the palatine dignity (1826-1836). Rose conducted a life-long correspondence with John Jebb (1775-1833), Bishop of Limerick (1822-1833) and John Henry Hobart (1775-1831), Bishop of New York. In short, the overall picture of Rose is of one marked by steady episcopal protection, which in view of the constant weakening of his state of health might certainly have helped to ease and prolong his short life. Despite Rose's inexorable physical decline, he was appointed to several prestigious positions, such as the first chair of divinity at the University of Durham (1833), the domestic chaplaincy of the Archbishop of Canterbury (1834) and finally the Principalship of King's College, London (1836).¹¹⁹

However, ill health compelled Rose at last to resign from most of these positions.¹²⁰ The failure of his health was dramatically reflected in the number of parish livings from which he was forced to resign. In 1821 Rose was presented by Archbishop Charles Manners-Sutton (1755-1828) to the

¹¹⁷On Rose's influence on Archbishop Howley see Dewey, Clive, *The Passing of Barchester* (London/Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1991), p. 31: "The mild archbishop was easily influenced by the strong personalities around him, and two of his more intransigent counsellors – Hugh James Rose (his most assertive domestic chaplain) and William Van Mildert (the most forceful bishop) – were in the grip of terminal illness."

¹¹⁸ On the influence of Bishop Van Mildert on Rose see E. A. Varley, *The last of the Prince Bishops. William Van Mildert and the High Church Movement of the early nineteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 164-177.

¹¹⁹See Dewey, *Barchester*, pp. 135-137 (table 8: "The Hackney Phalanx as a Meritocratic Melting-Pot: The Social Origins and Education of Thirty of its Members and Allies").

¹²⁰Burton, *Lives*, first edition, vol. 1, p. 121, "The calamitous health from which Hugh suffered so direfully later on in life had its beginning when he was five years old. An attack of croup, though effectually subdued, left him liable to frequent inflammation of the lungs."

vicarage of Horsham, Sussex. However, the damp and low climatic conditions of his first living proved extremely bad for the asthmatic young vicar, and already by the end of the second year extended changes of air and scene were deemed to be necessary for the benefit of his poor health. As the conditions became worse, Rose finally vacated his Horsham living in 1830 and found himself in the same year appointed by Archbishop Howley Dean of Bocking and Rector of Hadleigh, Suffolk. His ministry at Hadleigh lasted only three years, and 1833 witnessed not only his severance from Hadleigh but also his resignation from the Prebend of Middleton at Chichester to which he had been collated by Bishop Carr on 23 February 1828. Following the well-meant persuasion of his old friend, William Rowe Lyall (1788-1857), in later years Dean of Canterbury, Rose accepted for the relief of his health an exchange from these livings for the smaller cures of Fairsted, Essex and St. Thomas, Southwark. Nonetheless, hopes that the new locality at London would suit him better were doomed to disappointment. Although Rose retained the perpetual curacy of St. Thomas until his death, he resigned the Fairsted living on 4 January 1837. In October 1838 Rose left England to travel to Italy for the benefit of his health, a journey from which he never returned. On 22 December 1838 Rose died at Florence at the age of forty-three; his remains were buried four days later in the Protestant cemetery outside Florence on the road to Fiesole. He was survived by his wife, Anna Cuyler, daughter of Captain Peter Mair of Hill House, Richmond, Yorkshire, whom he married on 24 June 1819 and by whom he had no issue.

Although only five years older than Pusey and only three years younger than Keble, Rose nevertheless belonged to another ecclesiastical generation. Unlike Newman and some other promoters of the Oxford

Movement, Rose had been brought up a High Churchman. He was born on 9 June 1795 at the parsonage of Little Horsted, Sussex, the elder son of the Rev. William Rose (1763-1844) at that time curate in the parish. On his father's side Rose was lineally descended "from one of the oldest of Scottish houses".¹²¹ Burgon thought it important to emphasise the fact that all the Roses "were on the Prince's side"¹²² during the Jacobite rebellion, his grandfather Hugh Rose having narrowly escaped hanging after the defeat of Prince Charles Edward Stuart at Culloden in 1746.

The impact of family ties on the make-up of High Church group identity should not be underestimated: "It was such ties of patronage, family and kinship as well as of friendship that forged a sense of union among High Churchmen, and bestowed the character of a succession or school."¹²³ Thus the Roses were a fine example of what Nockles had called "the essentially hereditary nature of old High churchmanship, of the 'faith of the father' being handed down to a succeeding generation"¹²⁴. Moreover, even Burgon's life of Rose is open to the objection of being a biased product of that network of family interrelationships, since Burgon himself was related to the Rose dynasty by the marriage of his sister to Henry John Rose (1800-1873), younger and only sibling of Hugh James. From his father, William, Rose inherited close connections to the Hackney Phalanx, the most prominent group of pre-Tractarian High Churchmen. George D'Oyly (1778-1846) at some time Rector of Lambeth, Surrey, and the Master of

¹²¹Ibid., p. 118.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 15. On the impact of 'clerical connections' on the religious life of Victorian England see Dewey, *Barchester*.

¹²⁴Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 16-17. See Dewey, *Barchester*, pp. 151-168 (Appendix: The Hackney Phalanx: A Checklist showing fathers, families, education, preferment and services).

Trinity College, Cambridge, and Christopher Wordsworth (1774-1846), both associates of the Hackney school had not only been Rectors at Hugh James' first ecclesiastical office at Buxted, Sussex¹²⁵ but also were friends and patrons of his father.

When Blomfield learned that Rose was proposing to go up to Cambridge as a member of Trinity College in Michaelmas term 1813 he reacted with great encouragement, telling his young correspondent¹²⁶ of his joy that "Alma Mater was about to have so promising a son"¹²⁷. Looking back to Rose's childhood and youth one cannot help thinking that the tragic condition of his lifelong poor health helped to foster his intellectual powers and to concentrate his mental predisposition and energies on the world of letters. Burgon left some remarkable reminiscences of Rose's prodigious aptitude, that the infant Rose was taught the alphabet even before he could speak and that he mastered a Latin Grammar as well as Knox's *Elegant Extracts* before he was four years old. He did not learn, however, the Greek alphabet before the age of five, when he was taught by Edward Daniel Clarke (1769-1822), the accomplished traveller, High Church divine and mineralogist.¹²⁸ After a distinguished career at Cambridge during which he gained the first Bell scholarship in 1814 and was elected a scholar of Trinity College in 1815, he took his B.A. degree

¹²⁵Rose was ordained deacon by Bishop Howley at Fulham on 20 December 1818. Carrying out his curacy at Buxted, a chapelry of Uckfield, Sussex, he received priest's orders at the hands of Bishop Law at St. James, Picadilly the ensuing year, 1819.

¹²⁶Rose's acquaintance with Blomfield dated from his early age of sixteen when he privately wrote to the editor of *The Seven against Thebes* in order to offer some critical suggestions to this work.

¹²⁷Charles James Blomfield to Hugh James Rose, Dunton, 5 October 1813. Cited in Burgon, *Lives*, first edition, vol. 1, p. 125.

¹²⁸See *ibid.*, pp. 118-119.

in 1817. His keen interest in mathematics earned his place in the Mathematical Tripos as fourteenth wrangler in the year of his graduation. However, his true strength lay in the fields of classics and theology. It was the study of ancient literature, cultivated from early boyhood and brought to completion at Cambridge, for which he received first public recognition. As an undergraduate, Rose received an extraordinary acknowledgement of his linguistic skills from Blomfield, reputedly at that time a "very pretty scholar"¹²⁹ himself.

I shall always have pleasure in hearing from you on these subjects. There are not more than five people in England who really understand or care about these things; and I am glad to perceive that you are going to be a sixth. Let me exhort you not to lay aside your classical pursuits as soon as you have taken your degree.¹³⁰

Soon the young graduate found himself heaped with awards for his classical endeavours. He was first Chancellor's medallist in 1817 and won the first middle bachelors' members' prize for a dissertation in Latin prose¹³¹ in the ensuing year and the widespread approval of his first publication *Remarks on the first Chapter of the Bishop of Llandaff's* [Herbert Marsh] *Horae Pelasgicae* (1817).¹³²

¹²⁹*DNB*.

¹³⁰Cited in Burgon, *Lives*, first edition, vol. 1, p. 125.

¹³¹*Inter Græcos et Romanos Historiæ comparatione facta cujusnam stylus imitatione maxime dignus esse videtur* (1818).

¹³²Further contributions of Rose to Greek scholarship include *Inscriptiones Graecae Vetustissimae. Collegit et Observationes tum aliorum tum suas adjecit Hugo Jacobus Rose, M.A.* (1825), his edition of John Parkhurst's classic *Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament* (1829), and his edition of Bishop Middleton's *Doctrine of the Greek Article applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the New Testament* (1833).

However, Rose's academic career, promising as it was, also brought its strains. His time at Cambridge came abruptly to a provisional end in October 1818 when to his own great distress he failed to win a fellowship at Trinity College. A few years later, in 1825, the Evangelical James Scholefield (1789-1853) was preferred to Rose for the Regius Professorship of Greek at Cambridge. Those set-backs, however, did not prevent Rose from retaining close relations with his *alma mater*. Thus he held the office of select preacher in the University of Cambridge in 1825, 1826, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1833 and 1834, an honour he managed to combine from 1829-1833 with the prestigious office of Christian Advocate.¹³³ The latter was very much bound up with the subject of Christian apologetics, a theological discipline which nowadays has become largely unknown.

But long before his appointment as Christian Advocate at Cambridge University, Rose devoted much of his career to controversial debates over orthodox theological positions, of which his vigorous defence of the Church Catechism against Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) in 1820¹³⁴ and his little tract *The Folly and Danger of Reading Irreligious Publications* in the ensuing year were first important examples. The historical estimation of Rose's ethos and work has to take into account his great religious zeal,

¹³³Rose's fame as theological writer rests upon such works as *Christianity always Progressive* (1829), *Brief Remarks on the Disposition towards Christianity generated by prevailing Opinions and Pursuits* (1830), *Eight Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge at Great St. Mary's in the Years 1830 and 1831. To which is added a Reprint of a Sermon preached before the University on Commencement Sunday 1826* (1831), *Notices of the Mosaic Law: with some Account of the Opinions of recent French Writers concerning it* (1831), and *The Gospel an Abiding System. With some Remarks on the New Christianity of the St. Simonians* (1832).

¹³⁴See *Burton Lives*, first edition, vol. 1, p. 130.

which, combined with a deep sense of urgency and sincere passion for the troubled course of the English Church, made him one of the ablest clerical propagandists of his time. Rose's reputation as an 'uncompromising Christian apologist' is well exhibited in his sermons on *The State of the Protestant Religion in Germany* (1825). In the last analysis these religious speeches are not so much a piece of objective historical research as a series of polemic religious pamphlets, with all the characteristics and limitations of this genre. Pusey's rejoinder, his *Inquiry*, on the other hand, is much more an academic analysis of a mind behind the scenes, and is therefore somewhat cold-blooded and retains a higher degree of objectivity. To do justice to Rose, one has to mention that he himself was aware of the insufficiencies of his work. In the second edition he tried to clarify his original intention: "In order to obviate all misconception, I think it right farther to add, that I neither profess nor intend in this work to assign the causes which led to the recent state of Protestantism; and that I do not undertake to give a *history* of the German Protestant Churches."¹³⁵

However, according to Newman's spiritual reminiscences it was precisely that series of sermons which gave the original impetus to the great Anglican revival: "Some years earlier he had been the first to give warning, I think from the University Pulpit at Cambridge, of the perils to England which lay in the biblical and theological speculations of Germany."¹³⁶ This particular reference to Rose's controversial university sermons increases their value immensely not only as source for Anglo-German relations at the threshold of nineteenth-century thought but also for historical research on the Oxford Movement. Thus although it is

¹³⁵Rose, *Discourses*, second edition, p. 7.

¹³⁶Newman, *Apologia*, p. 45.

beyond the scope of this investigation to discuss *in extenso* the question of Rose's place within the Oxford Movement one certainly cannot entirely avoid this issue.

In this context, Richard William Church's (1815-1890) classic work on the first twelve years of the Oxford Movement exposes the extent to which the absorption of the life of Rose had taken place within the Tractarian view of the course of the Catholic revival in Anglicanism. With his own close involvement in the movement and lasting personal ties to Newman, Church should not exactly be taken as an unbiased reviewer of Tractarian Oxford. However, his account of Rose, though not quite as "balanced" as Ramsey suggested,¹³⁷ gives some striking testimony to the reputation Rose enjoyed in his life-time.

It is certainly true that when the revival began he [Rose] was a much more distinguished and important person than any of the other persons interested in it. As far as could be seen at the time, he was the most accomplished divine and teacher in the English Church. He was a really learned man. He had the intellect and energy and literary skill to use his learning. He was a man of singularly elevated and religious character; he had something of the eye and temper of a statesman, and he had already a high position. He was profoundly loyal to the Church, and keenly interested in whatever affected its condition and its fortunes.¹³⁸

With regard to Rose's underestimated influence in the popular view of the Catholic revival, Dean Church, in a clear attempt to narrow the existing gulf between rival church parties over Rose's legacy, pointedly acknowledged Rose's decisive role on the formation of the Oxford

¹³⁷See Ramsey, *Rose*, p. 51.

¹³⁸R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement. Twelve Years 1833-1845* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1892), p. 96.

Movement, notably, like Newman, referring to the Cambridge sermons on German theology as an early landmark of the movement.

As early as 1825 he had in some lectures at Cambridge called the attention of English Churchmen to the state of religious thought and speculation in Germany, and to the mischiefs likely to react on English theology from the rationalising temper and methods which had supplanted the old Lutheran teaching.¹³⁹

Church was anxious not only to underline Rose's general approval and support for the Tractarians but also to depict him as a figure whose place was at the very heart of the Oxford Movement itself.

More alive to difficulties and dangers than his younger associates, he showed his courage and his unselfish earnestness in his frank sympathy with them, daring and outspoken as they were, and in his willingness to share with them the risks of an undertaking of which no one knew better than he what were likely to be the difficulties His countenance and his indirect influence were very important elements, both in the stirring of thought which led to the Hadleigh resolutions, and in giving its form to what was then decided upon ... He must have been reckoned with as one of the chiefs. He would have been opposed to anything that really tended towards Rome. But there is no reason to think that he would have shrunk from any step only because it was bold. He had sympathy for courage and genius, and he had knowledge and authority which would have commanded respect for his judgement and opinion.¹⁴⁰

Yet this late appreciation of Rose as one of the "chiefs" of the Movement is open to the objection of giving an unbalanced portrait. It completely passed over the difficult reception which Rose received from his Oxford friends during his life-time, mainly from Froude and Newman. By the same token, Church also overlooked Rose's growing private misgivings about the course of the Movement, as revealed in Newman and Rose's

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 95-96.

correspondence. On the other hand, without overstating the case, reading between the lines one might detect a distancing from Rose by the Tractarians themselves; therefore, it was rather the "indirect influence" of an "early auxiliary", which Church deemed to be the important element of Rose's contribution to the Oxford Movement. Furthermore, Church did not evade the question of how Rose would have influenced the course of events if he had not died prematurely. His answer is unequivocal. Rose's place, on the one hand, was described as being at the forefront of the Movement, but Church defined this place with the clear qualification that Rose was rather a forerunner, at best a patron of the movement. The further achievements and actual course of the Oxford Movement were in the end beyond Rose's influence.

But it is too much to say either that the movement could not have been without him, or that it was specially his design and plan, or that he alone could have given the impulse which led to it; though it seemed at one time as if he was to be its leader and chief. Certainly he was the most valuable and the most loyal of its early auxiliaries.¹⁴¹

Church's viewpoint of the origins of the Catholic revival in the English Church counteracted not only Henry John Rose's version of a Catholic movement which had already commenced at Cambridge in the 1820s under the leadership of his brother¹⁴², but also emphasised an exclusive understanding of the new High Church school at Oxford as not merely 'new wine' for 'old bottles', but rather as, in Nockles words, "something greater than one more manifestation of a long tradition of High Church resistance to the Church in danger"¹⁴³.

¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁴²See Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 314.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 316.

Church's judgement, though coloured by his 'hagiographic' intention, nevertheless points the way towards a more realistic appreciation of Rose. Speculations as to how the history of the Oxford Movement with Rose as leader might have been written if he had not died prematurely are more a hindrance than a help in understanding Rose's unique meaning for English church history. It should be born in mind that approaching the time of Rose's death, old High Churchmanship was confronted with the increasing decline of its ideological dominance in the life of the Church of England, and with the rise of the new theological agenda of the young Oxford divines the influence of the Hackney Phalanx grew weaker, or as Mozley put it: "The old High Church school were partly gone and partly asleep."¹⁴⁴ Thus the memory of Rose gave rise to highly speculative possibilities of a more harmonious course for the Catholic revival and by the same token allowed space for a plausible explanation for the misdirected Tractarian momentum. In this respect the claims of old High Churchmen concerning Rose require as much caution as those of Tractarian historiography.

The very fact that Rose did not attain the leadership of the young movement, and never would have while Newman was involved in it, is not to be seen simply as a consequence of his delicate health and early death¹⁴⁵ but can be traced back to a divergence between them of both mentality and theological approaches. First, it should be born in mind that the Oxford branch of the Catholic revival, before Pusey's accession towards the end of

¹⁴⁴Mozley, *Essays*, vol. 2, p. 27. See Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 325, "By the early 1830s, the old High Churchmen had 'run out of steam' and lacked the power to move or inspire the new generation, unaided."

¹⁴⁵See Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 97, "But his action in the movement was impeded by his failure in health, and cut short by his early death."

1834, consisted "almost exclusively of junior men, personal friends of Mr. Newman, and most of them Orielmens."¹⁴⁶ Though there seems little reason to endorse Headlam's polemic distinction of the Oxford theologians as "men of very different calibre"¹⁴⁷, Rose, as a matter of fact, belonged by "training and temperament", as Ramsey pointed out, "to the old High Church party rather than to the Tractarians."¹⁴⁸ Rose's high position and connections to the ecclesiastical establishment were most welcome¹⁴⁹ and were doubtless used by the Tractarians in order to enhance their respectability. In this context, Newman's correspondence reveals an extraordinary side to the origins of the movement, as far as his calculated use of Rose and of his solid reputation is concerned. In a reply to some of Froude's critical remarks upon Rose, Newman firmly insists on the advantages of having Rose as their patron: "We must pull with Rose, and bide our time. I should be most unwilling to weaken him....We may use Rose without making him our head."¹⁵⁰

There is enough evidence that the Oriel men had always been cautious in their attitude to Rose. At no stage even of closer acquaintance and collaboration, were their feelings towards Rose completely free of uncertainty and scepticism about his 'firmness'¹⁵¹ and loyalty to the vision

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 132.

¹⁴⁷Headlam, *Rose*, p. 98.

¹⁴⁸Ramsey, *Rose*, p. 58

¹⁴⁹See Newman, *Apologia*, p. 45, "His [Rose] reputation and position came in aid of his obvious fitness, in point of character and intellect, to become the centre of an ecclesiastical movement, if such a movement were to depend on the action of a party."

¹⁵⁰John Henry Newman to Richard Hurrell Froude, 1 August 1833, in Ian Ker and Thomas Gornall (ed.), *L & D* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), vol. 4, pp. 17-18.

¹⁵¹John Henry Newman to Richard Hurrell Froude, 13 September 1832, in *ibid.*, vol. 3 (1979), p 94: "whether he is firm, remains to be seen".

and themes of the movement. Froude especially kept a severe reservation against Rose's 'conservatism'. Already in November 1833 he urged Newman to break up in a *coup d'état* the alliance with the representatives of the old High Church tradition, whom Froude mockingly labelled as 'Zs' (while he referred to the Tractarians themselves as 'Ys' or 'Apostolics'): "We must throw the Zs overboard: they are a small and ... daily diminishing party."¹⁵² In his resumé of the famous Hadleigh Conference at Rose's vicarage, Froude fairly disapproved of Rose's willingness to identify himself with the views of the Oxford men. According to Newman, Froude would even have preferred a clean break with Rose after that meeting at Hadleigh.¹⁵³ Froude's general impression of Rose that he was after all "not yet an Apostolical"¹⁵⁴ might be on a personal level put down to the incompatibility of their mentalities, which Ramsey has called the "clash between the learned man and the enfant terrible of the Movement"¹⁵⁵.

However, Froude's reservations were largely shared by other members and sympathisers of the movement. Already in 1830 Samuel Rickards (1796-1865), Fellow of Oriel and friend of Newman and his family, wrote with frank scepticism: "I wish that somebody would be so good as to convince me that he is a very first rate man - because I find it mightily inconvenient to stir among Cambridge men, and not to think him so."¹⁵⁶ John Keble too,

¹⁵²Richard Hurrell Froude to John Henry Newman, 17 November 1833, in *ibid.*, vol. 4 (1980), p. 112.

¹⁵³John Henry Newman to John Keble, 5 August 1833, in *ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁵⁴Richard Hurrell Froude to John Henry Newman, 30 July 1833, in *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁵⁵Ramsey, *Rose*, p. 55.

¹⁵⁶Samuel Rickards to John Henry Newman, 26 May 1830, in *L & D*, vol. 2 (1979), p. 222.

initially regarding Rose with great favour¹⁵⁷, gradually distanced himself from Rose and expressed, to an increasing degree, doubts about "our friend Rose's staunchness"¹⁵⁸. In short, the same high ecclesiastical position which attracted Rose originally to the Tractarians also in the end severed him from too close an association with his Oxford friends. This impression corresponds with conclusions Newman himself drew in the *Apologia*.

Mr. Rose had a position in the Church, a name, and serious responsibilities...Froude and I were nobodies; with no characters to lose, and no antecedents to fetter us. Rose could not go a-head across country, as Froude had no scruples in doing. Froude was a bold rider, as on horseback, so also in his speculations ... whereas in the thoughts of Rose, as a practical man, existing facts had the presence of every other idea, and the chief test of the soundness of a line of policy lay in the consideration whether it would work¹⁵⁹

Living movements, as Newman saw it, "do not come out of committees"¹⁶⁰. In the zealot protagonists of Tractarian Oxford a new generation of High Churchmanship grew up, whose 'ecclesiastical Storm and Stress' differed vehemently from that 'classic' period of Anglican identity in which Rose had been born and bred. So much was Rose united with the Tractarians in the general scope of the movement¹⁶¹ and so deeply did he share their sense of urgency, that the causes of disunion were already latently present in diverging opinions about the methods to be pursued for the restoration of the Anglican tradition. Moreover, with the emergence of the *Tracts for the Times*, it became obvious that the new

¹⁵⁷See, for instance, letter to Newman of 11 April 1833: "I am very glad you are working so for Rose; he pleases me more and more." (vol. 3 p. 321)

¹⁵⁸John Keble to John Henry Newman, 4 March 1834, in *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 198.

¹⁵⁹Newman, *Apologia*, p. 38.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁶¹See *ibid.*, p. 38.

school of High Churchmen gathered around Newman, Keble and Froude was on its way to making a calculated departure from the theological agenda and *ethos* of their predecessors - under Newman's leadership the Oxford Movement could never, argues Nockles, "have rested content with the limited role which Hackney evidently assigned for it."¹⁶² Rose retained an enduring regard for the Tractarians and continued to encourage and publicly support them. However, his private correspondence, mainly of the last two years of his life, does not conceal the fact that the course of events at Oxford - noticeable in the altered tone of the *Tracts* after 1836 - had caused him serious misgivings¹⁶³. Not without foundation, Rose was alarmed by some extravagant tendencies of the Tractarians which were on the point of straying too far from the theological agenda of traditional High Churchmanship in the direction of Rome.

Burton devoted much space to casting some light on the suppressed fact that an essential change in the spirit of the Movement had strained Rose's loyalty. Unlike John Miller of Worcester College, an old friend of Rose, who already in 1839 had alerted the Tractarians to a damaging account, for them, of Rose's life - fears which in the end turned out to be merely a storm in a tea cup¹⁶⁴ - Burton made intensive use of Rose's private letters

¹⁶²Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 316.

¹⁶³See Burton, *Lives*, first edition, vol. 1, p. 207.

¹⁶⁴See Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 291-292, "Tractarian apprehension arose when Newman and Pusey learned of Miller's collection of Rose's correspondence and projected biography. Pusey paid a diplomatic visit to Rose's widow, whose sympathies with the Movement were known to be pronounced. Pusey obtained her permission to modify or qualify any potentially damaging admissions or revelations that Miller's proposed biography might throw up ...Ultimately, Tractarian anxiety was not tested, because Miller only produced a brief memoir which had limited circulation, and which did not fully use the materials at his disposal. If the biography had appeared earlier and been more revealing, later Oxford Movement historiography might have been less slanted in favour of the

to highlight those disagreements with the allies in Oxford and above all with Newman.

It may be true, as you say, that our orb of doctrine is not entirely teres atque rotundus. But I am persuaded that these additions (not being essentials) cannot with safety be proposed to the mass. If they are once impressed with the notion that we are imperfect, and require improvement and change, they have not the means of knowing or discovering how much or how little, and are merely converted into ignorant Reformers ... But as far as my opinion goes, you will do the greatest possible service ... if you will go on quietly indoctrinating the mass of the Clergy with these reasons; with teaching them the real strength of their grounds ... You have probably a set of ingenious, clever, promising and highly endowed students to deal with. But if you will examine a few dozens of Candidates for Orders, rough as they run, I think you will come to my side of the argument.¹⁶⁵

Although his conception of the Church was as strictly episcopal, Rose was all too aware of the danger that a relentless and sectarian vision of catholicity would finally lead to a fatal theological fragmentation of the Church of England. Against the theological division which the Tractarians fomented with a collective disdain of the Reformation or their extreme views on rather controversial issues such as the use of the Roman breviary, prayers for the dead and purgatory, Rose unceasingly tried to put the substance of traditional High Church principles in its proper perspective. With growing discontent, Rose noted that the Tractarian 'rediscovery' of Anglican church principles was partly at the expense of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century witnesses to that tradition.

I shall not allow you to speak of the right doctrine of the Sacraments, or the Ministry, as such things, - because they are not

Tractarians than was to be the case." See John Miller, 'Memoir of the Late Rev. Hugh James Rose', in *British Magazine*, vol. 15 (1839), pp. 327-347.

¹⁶⁵Hugh James Rose to John Henry Newman, 9 May 1836. Cited in Burgon, *Lives*, first edition, vol. 1, p. 212.

additions to our present Faith. Too much neglected, undoubtedly, they have yet always been held and taught by a very large body of Churchmen as being, what they really are, - the true doctrine of the Church.¹⁶⁶

Rose's reservations about certain tendencies within the movement was an early omen of the coming conflict between old High Churchmen and Tractarians. It is true that the final breach between Tractarians and their predecessors was not irrevocably confirmed before Newman's publication of *Tract 90*. However, at a time when the High Church reception of Tractarian zealotry was still generally favourable, Rose's alarmist private letters already prefigured that parting of the ways.

As to my fears of your Oxford proceedings, I only say, - Keep where you are, and go no further. I do not say that the English are people of good sense, but I say they abhor *extremes*, and always fly off from those who carry things too far.¹⁶⁷

Moreover, Rose's correspondence of the years 1836 to 1838 exposes that his position in the alliance with the Oxford divines was perceptibly crumbling. The Tractarians showed little signs of appreciation of Rose's reproaches and manifold warnings. Thus there is little evidence for the assumption that the later history of the Oxford Movement might have been very different had Rose not died prematurely. Rose still lived to see Newman and Keble's publication of Froude's *Remains* in 1838 which according to Nockles marked the "opening of a new era of public opposition to the Tractarians from within Old High Churchmanship"¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁶Hugh James Rose to John Henry Newman, Lambeth, 13 May 1836. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 216.

¹⁶⁷Hugh James Rose to Edward Bouvery Pusey, 9 January 1837. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 242.

¹⁶⁸Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 281.

And it is unlikely that he would have prevented or influenced the publication of *Tract 90* in 1841.

"What then is the significance of Rose ", asked Ramsey in the 1941, "in the history of the Oxford Movement?"¹⁶⁹ An answer which takes into consideration the historical relation of old High Churchmen and Tractarians might first of all suggest a limitation which, by the same token leads to a unique significance beyond the overshadowing and somewhat narrow question of the impact of the Oxford Movement. Indeed, the spiritual and theological divergence between Rose and the Tractarians, especially after 1836, indicates that his actual influence was far more limited as both old High Churchman and Tractarians in the wake of his death generally acknowledged. It remains an open question whether Rose's personal and theological bond with Newman, Keble and Pusey would have been strong enough to survive the provocative occasion of Froude's *Remains* or even the more dramatic *Tract 90*. Nockles has demonstrated that younger traditional High Churchmen, such as Hook, Palmer of Worcester, Churton, Sewell and Jelf on the one hand "remained more reluctant than their Hackney elders to break with the Tractarians"¹⁷⁰. However, the further history of the movement witnessed the gradual parting of the majority of those old High Church companions and auxiliaries, most notably in Palmer of Worcester's final breach, though his defence of Newman lasted as late as 1844.¹⁷¹ Rose and the Tractarians might have fallen out over their different theological *ethos* if he had lived.

¹⁶⁹Ramsey, *Rose*, p. 58.

¹⁷⁰Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 286.

¹⁷¹See *ibid.*, pp. 300-302.

Yet of far greater and lasting importance than the final mutual disillusionment was Rose's positive contribution to the Catholic heritage of his church. As demonstrated, there was much in Rose's nature and religious convictions which brought him and his writings near to the zealotry of the young Oxford theologians; he was after all, as Nockles put it, the early Tractarians' "'Z' most supportive"¹⁷². First, as founder and editor of the *British Magazine* and the *Theological Library*, he provided a literary platform for Newman and Froude and their young friends. Newman's *Lyra Apostolica*, for instance, appeared first in Rose's *British Magazine*. Second, the famous 'Hadleigh Conference' which Rose called marked his a major link with the genesis of the Oxford Movement: "But if Mr. Keble's sermon [Keble's sermon on *National Apostasy* from 14 July 1833] was the first word of the movement, its first step was taken in a small meeting of friends, at Mr. Hugh James Rose's parsonage at Hadleigh, in Suffolk, of the same July."¹⁷³. But above all, it was Rose's clear identity as traditional High Churchman which pointed the way back to old Anglican paths for the Oxford Movement. The example of Rose shows that the Catholic revival in the English Church of the nineteenth century cannot be sufficiently treated as equivalent to the Oxford Movement but has to be regarded as a much broader ecclesiastical phenomenon. Finally, the Oxford Movement took place of course in Oxford, for the theological agenda of Tractarianism differed too much in style and substance to be stamped with the label of classic High Churchmanship. However, the movement did not spring out of nothing, and one of its most significant influences certainly came from Cambridge. In his study on the Anglican revival, Brilioth has paid a sincere tribute to Rose's memory.

¹⁷²Ibid., p. 274.

¹⁷³Ibid., p.94,

He certainly used his talent to the uttermost, but he lacked the spark of creative genius; and so the highest title of honour that can be given him is that of 'Restorer of the old paths.' But this gives him certainly a place of honour in the history of the Anglican Renaissance alongside of the Tractarian brotherhood. They were the advanced guard: he was the doughty defender. And on the other hand, by his less fanciful temperament he was protected from the extreme one-sidedness of the Oxford men.¹⁷⁴

Rose's place in the history of the English Church is first of all "uniquely his own"¹⁷⁵ in his relation to the Oxford Movement; however, he deserves to be remembered as a powerful godfather - described by Newman in the dedication to the fourth volume of his *Parochial Sermons* as the man who "when hearts were failing, bade us stir up the gift that was in us and betake ourselves to our true mother"¹⁷⁶.

¹⁷⁴Yngve Brilioth, *The Anglican Revival. Studies in the Oxford Movement* (London/New York/Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1933), p. 28.

¹⁷⁵Ramsey, *Rose*, p. 58.

¹⁷⁶John Henry Newman, *Parochial Sermons*, 5 vols, vol. 4 (London: J. G. & F. Rivington, 1839)

2.4 "The best preacher in England": Rose's reputation as preacher

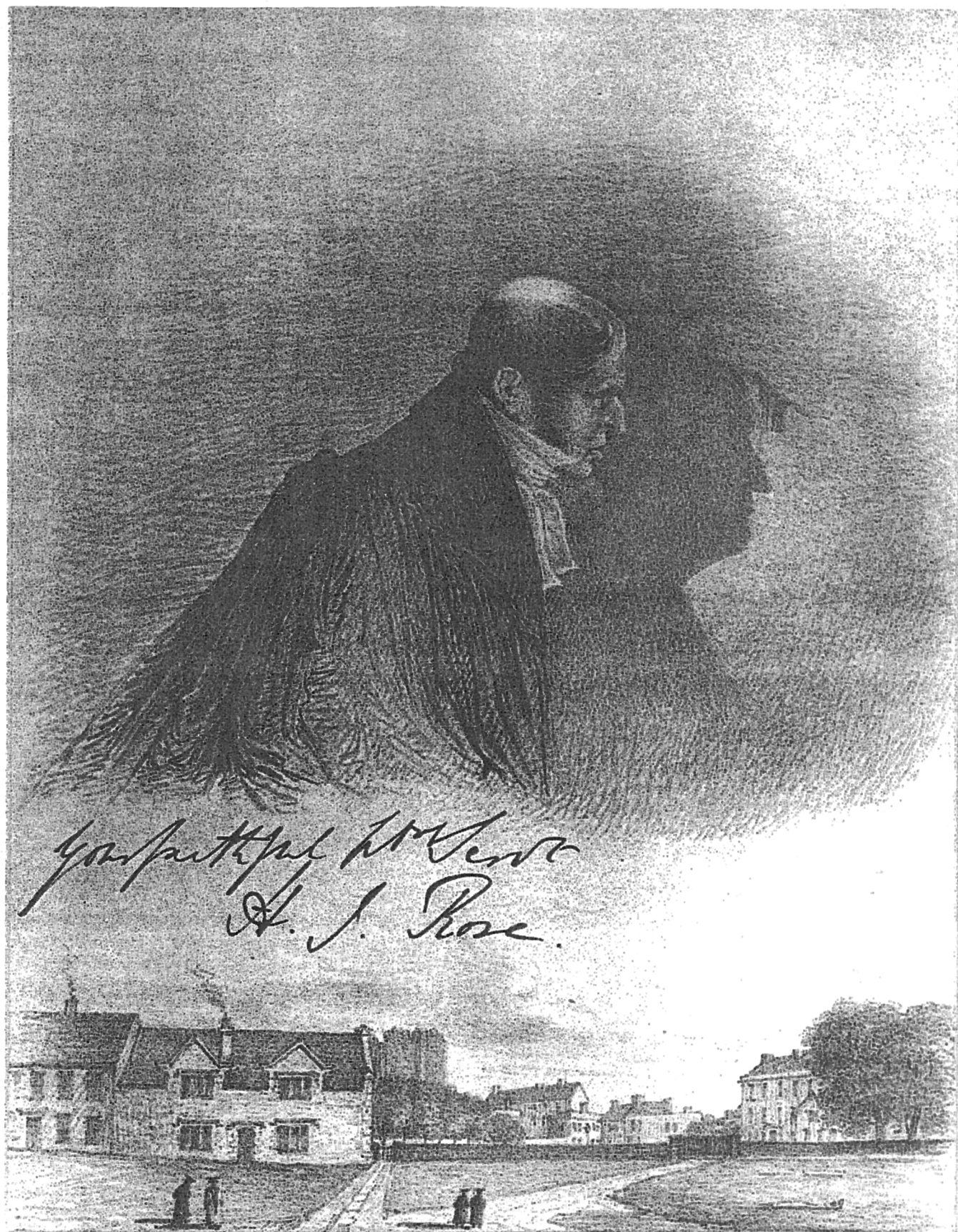
Amongst the ancestral portrait gallery of scholars who had been once attached to the tradition of theological learning in Durham, there is a print of a crayon sketch of the university's first professor of divinity. Depicted in a lecturing or preaching pose, it shows a gaunt man in mid-life with thinning hairline and the sideboards typical of the prevailing taste of his time. His slightly forward-bending posture conveys the impression of a somewhat forthright character. Ascetic and sharp features indicate to the onlooker great seriousness and yet, someone not dispassionate. All in all one has the impression of a man of scholarly and concentrated earnestness.

Unfortunately there is no good portrait of Rose, and the aforesaid sketch is one of the few surviving images of him. Thus it is difficult to develop a clear image of the distinctive features of the man who was remembered by Archbishop Howley as "the best preacher in England"¹⁷⁷. However, apart from the study of his sermons themselves, the judgements of those who knew Rose cast a striking light on his personality and the reputation he enjoyed as preacher. Dean Burgon, who was only introduced to Rose in the last year of his life, described his personal aspect as "most striking; his figure tall and commanding"¹⁷⁸.

There is but one opinion concerning Mr. Rose's power and success as a public Teacher. Not only was his matter in the highest degree

¹⁷⁷Cited in Burgon, *Lives*, first edition, vol. 1, p. 277.

¹⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 276.



Hugh James Rose, circa 1833

important and weighty, but his delivery was earnest and impressive beyond example ... There were with him none of the arts - still less any of the tricks - of oratory. He eschewed action, was perfectly natural in his manner, and his solemn voice, exercised with manifest effort, testified but too plainly to the broken health and exhausted natural powers with which he was resolutely contending.¹⁷⁹

Burton's own personal observations were merely based on his few meetings with Rose as young man. However, in his *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, he devoted much space to the testimony of eye-witnesses to highlight Rose's outstanding power and eloquence in the pulpit.¹⁸⁰ Palmer of Worcester College in his old age contributed to this endeavour, specifically at Burton's request, some quite emotive reminiscences of his intimate ally of the early days of the Oxford Movement.

I do not think that I have ever met elsewhere anything like his charm of manners, intellect, goodness, sweetness, strength, wit and acuteness, and breadth of view, combined with rare common sense and varied accomplishment. Alas, we shall never see his like again ... His candour was remarkable, and he never was restrained by politeness from stating his full and sincere opinion ... I have not mentioned his exceeding kindness and benevolence of manner. If there was a perfect, polished, dignified gentleman, it was he.¹⁸¹

Amongst those reminiscences Burton collected, there is also an extract of an diary entry by the divine Joseph Romilly (1791-1864), the sometime the registrar of Cambridge University. His personal recollection conveys a good impression of the credentials Rose established as a distinct High Church theologian in his public preaching at Cambridge.

At 2 went to S. Mary's to hear Rose ... It was an intemperate, uncompromising, High Church sermon. The language was very

¹⁷⁹Ibid., p. 139.

¹⁸⁰See *ibid.*, pp. 131-132, 139-144.

¹⁸¹Ibid., p. 277.

beautiful and eloquent, and the delivery admirable: but I think a more inflammatory party Sermon has hardly been preached since the days of Sacheverel.¹⁸²

Although Burgon's enthusiastic eulogy on Rose is not free from the objections of sentimentality and partisanship, the general tenor of the judgements of his contemporaries was too unanimous in their testimony of Rose's captivating effect on his listeners to be dismissed as mere nostalgic emotionalism. There is enough evidence to consider Rose one of the most forceful preachers in early nineteenth-century England. In commemoration of the passing away of its founder the *British Magazine* quoted in February 1839, as an instance of Rose's widespread fame in the pulpit, an extract of an obituary in the *Brighton Gazette* for the same month.

It would be an insult to the memory of so great and good a servant of Christ, to say that he was an attractive preacher; though his preaching not only captivated all hearts, but was the admiration of all who had either the taste to discern, or the virtue to honour, excellence in that most difficult and rare of all sacred accomplishments, - the art of speaking with power and intelligibility to a congregation composed of the various grades of society.¹⁸³

The demand for the publication of his works rose increasingly. Some of his courses, such as *The tendency of prevalent opinions about knowledge considered* (1826) and *Christianity always progressive* (1829) became virtually devotional 'best-sellers' and went through several reprints or new editions. One observer in the early 1830s contended that Rose's influence at Cambridge even surpassed the popularity of the leading Evangelical Charles Simeon (1759-1836), then incumbent of Holy Trinity, Cambridge: "Even deeper than Simeon's influence was that of Hugh James Rose, - the

¹⁸²Ibid., p. 142.

¹⁸³*British Magazine*, vol. 15 (1839), p. 227.

man who, of all Cambridge men of that time, was the leading spirit in the great Church revival."¹⁸⁴ Even Headlam who, as shown earlier, was not exactly a great advocate of Rose, felt obliged to acknowledge at least that considerable aspect of Rose's unique style as preacher: "He was an enthusiastic defender of the Church of England he had learning and skill in argument" - a concession which he promptly qualified - "but he represented the views of his Church in a fashion which we cannot help thinking somewhat narrow."¹⁸⁵

If Rose's famous sermons on German Rationalism from 1825, as even Newman himself in his *Apologia* indicated, mark the birth pangs of the Church revival, its first achievements were in Rose's sermons on *The Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy* from April 1826. Addressed in the first instance to future ministers of the Church of England, this series, with their focus on the apostolic succession as an essential and indispensable mark of the Church of England, did not only predate Newman's *Thoughts on the ministerial commission*, but were also every bit as determined to recall the Church to its own ecclesiological principles as was Tract 1 of the *Tracts for the Times*:

that a ministry is one of the means of grace, instituted by God himself, for objects and reasons sufficiently by God himself, for objects and reasons sufficiently apparent even to us; that every real and actual minister of God receives his commission from God himself, although through the agency of man, or in other words that there is no human power competent of itself to call men to the priest's office.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴Ibid., p. 141.

¹⁸⁵Headlam, *Rose*, p. 94.

¹⁸⁶Rose, *Commission*, p. 9.

Keble's reception of the publication of these particular sermons is revealing.

But I had rather tell you of the delight (I hope not unimproving) with which I have read your animating appeals, and mean to read them over and over again; and of the satisfaction it has afforded me to find my own notions and criticisms, on some favourite subjects, exactly coinciding with yours.¹⁸⁷

Unlike the Tractarians and their claimed 'rediscoveries' of church principles dug up out of a forgotten past, Rose's appeal to continuity and antiquity does not maintain the aura of novelty. On the contrary, Rose consciously understood himself as an heir to a Catholic tradition within the Church of England which might have been neglected at certain times but was never completely abandoned. Thus Rose's diagnosis of the state of the Church of England differed immensely from the bleak perspective of the new High Churchmen at Oxford. In a letter to Newman from 9 May 1836 Rose felt obliged to strongly remind the Tractarians of their own historical context.

On the same ground, I wish that you had somewhat more represented the Apostolic Succession as a regular, undoubted doctrine, held undoubtingly by all true Churchmen, and only a little neglected, - than as a thing to which we were to recur as a sort of ancient Novelty, - a truth now first recovered.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷John Keble to Hugh James Rose, Fairford, Gloucestershire, 29 September 1828, Cited in Burgon, *Lives*, first edition, vol.1, p. 136.

¹⁸⁸Hugh James Rose to John Henry Newman, Lambeth, 9 May 1836. Cited in *ibid.*, p. 211.

2.5 The making of an ecclesiastical controversy

2.5.1 Rose's 'Discourses on the State of Protestantism in Germany'

Rose's *State of the Protestant Religion in Germany*, based on a series of four sermons which he delivered during his first term as Select Preacher in the University of Cambridge in May 1825¹⁸⁹, stood at the very beginning of his ecclesiastical career. Already here, in his first major publication, considered by his old friend Miller of Worcester College, Oxford, to be his "leading work"¹⁹⁰, Rose lay the foundations of his later reputation as an uncompromising restorer of the doctrines of the old High Church divines. "The result of the subsequent controversy", as Burgon put it, "benefited the Church chiefly in that it helped to bring Rose prominently before the public (outside his own University) as a fearless champion of Catholic Truth"¹⁹¹.

Rose's acquaintance with German biblical scholarship and his knowledge of the German language can be traced back to his student days at Cambridge. It is not difficult to assess the overall significance of Cambridge for knowledge of the advances in German theology in early

¹⁸⁹In passing it should be mentioned that Ramsey, *Rose*, pp. 53-54, confused the dates for the delivery and publication of both series, *Discourses on the State of the Protestant Religion in Germany* and *The Commission and Consequent Duties of the Clergy*.

¹⁹⁰Miller, *Rose*, p. 333.

¹⁹¹Burgon, *Lives*, first edition, vol. 1, p. 134.

nineteenth-century England. It was above all the work of Herbert Marsh (1757-1839), the foremost divine at Cambridge and successively Bishop of Llandaff (1816) and Peterborough (1819) that inaugurated a new era in English biblical scholarship. One of the most hot-headed controversialists of his time, Marsh has always been known in Germany as a pupil of the legendary Michaelis, the man who "introduced the German critical methods to England"¹⁹². Having paid several visits to Germany in the 1780s and 1790s, where he studied under Michaelis in Göttingen and Johann Jakob Griesbach (1745-1812)¹⁹³ in Jena, Marsh returned to England profoundly conversant with German biblical scholarship. His translation of Michaelis' *Introduction of the New Testament* was provided with his own notes and comments on the origins of the synoptic gospels and "aroused a storm of adverse criticism from theologians of the conservative school at home"¹⁹⁴, yet marked a decisive turning point in the history of modern English biblical study. John Randolph (1749-1813), then Bishop of Oxford, anonymously published in 1802 a strong attack on Marsh himself, branding both Michaelis and the German methods of biblical criticism as "derogating from the character of the sacred books, and injurious to Christianity as fostering a spirit of scepticism"¹⁹⁵. Marsh, ever a dangerous opponent, dismissed Randolph's pamphlet in his prompt

¹⁹²See *RGG* 3, vol. 4 (1960), col. 776.

¹⁹³On Johann Jakob Griesbach see *RGG* 3, vol. 2 (1958), col. 1876.

¹⁹⁴*DNB*.

¹⁹⁵Anon. [John Randolph], *Remarks on "Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, Vols. III. IV. Translated by the Rev. Herbert Marsh, and augmented with Notes." By Way of caution to the Students in Divinity*, second edition (London: T. Bensley, 1802), p. 5.

reply as simply "arrogant and illiberal"¹⁹⁶ and defended the purpose of meticulous inquiries into the scriptures of the Old and New Testament precisely for the sake of the authenticity of the biblical canon.¹⁹⁷ This early encounter between Marsh and Randolph over the legitimacy of German biblical criticism at the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century already gave a significant foreboding of the complexity and general reception of German Protestantism in England throughout the century. However, Marsh remained remarkably unmoved by the violent controversy which he provoked with the more conservative English theologians and continued his pioneering endeavours. Elected as Lady Margaret Professor at Cambridge in 1807, Marsh, delivered a number of courses on biblical criticism, such as *The History of Sacred Criticism* (1809), *The Criticism of the Greek Testament* (1810), *The Interpretation of the Bible* (1813), and *The Interpretation of Prophecy* (1816). These courses were exceedingly well received by both townsmen and members of the university, and had to be held in the university church as the divinity school could not fit the crowded audience.

Even two hundred years after their first delivery, these sermons have lost nothing of their sharp and conclusive persuasiveness and deserve to be remembered as the authoritative 'English manifesto for biblical criticism'. Being aware of the hitherto negative reaction of the English public towards

¹⁹⁶Herbert Marsh, *Letters to the Anonymous Author of Remarks on Michaelis and his Commentator Relating Especially to the Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of our Three First Canonical Gospels* (London: F. & C. Rivington, 1802), p. 4.

the new continental methods of scriptural interpretation, Marsh set out to expose the importance of biblical criticism for the study of divinity by showing its deep theological dimension:

But the Bible may be studied in such a variety of ways, there are so many points of views, from which it requires to be examined, and the accuracy of our conclusions depends so much on the order in which these several surveys are taken, that it is of the utmost importance to determine where we should begin. We must establish the Authenticity of the Bible, the Credibility of the Bible, the Divine Authority of the Bible, the Inspiration of the Bible, the Doctrines of the Bible ... Nor can we begin with its Divine Authority, or in other words, with the Evidence for the divine origin of our religion. For these evidences are arguments deduced from the Bible itself, and of course presuppose that the Bible is true. The authenticity of the Bible therefore must be previously established, or the evidences, as they are called, have no foundation, whereon to rest. But no man can undertake to prove the authenticity of the Bible, till he thoroughly understands it. The interpretation of the Bible therefore is manifestly one of the first parts or branches of Theology.¹⁹⁸

This plea for the acknowledgement of the study of 'sacred criticism' as the fundamental principle of theology¹⁹⁹ went along with an all-embracing restructuring of theology as academic discipline. Here Marsh unreservedly adopted the concept of the division of theology as developed under Schleiermacher's overall influence at the Protestant faculties of German universities:

¹⁹⁷See *ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁹⁸Herbert Marsh, *Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible with two preliminary lectures on Theological Study and theological Arrangement - A new edition, revised and corrected to which are now added two lectures on the History of Biblical interpretation* (Cambridge: C. & J. Rivington, 1828), pp. 21-22.

¹⁹⁹See *ibid.*, p. 25, "In short, it [biblical criticism] is a branch, which affords nutriment and life to all the other branches, which must become

A four-fold division of Theology is a division which has been long in use among the German divines. With them likewise the first division relates to the exposition of the scriptures, and is termed Expository Theology. The second is called, by way of eminence, Systematic Theology: it includes both evidences and doctrines. The third division is called Historical Theology: it comprises the internal, as well as external history of the church. The fourth and last division is called Pastoral Theology, comprehending such subjects, as relate especially to the duties of a parish priest. This division, though not universal among foreign divines, is at least the prevailing one, and the best, which has been hitherto introduced.²⁰⁰

The pragmatic classification of theological sub-disciplines marked a completely new, functional understanding of theology. Its application to the English context, where the traditional understanding of theology as *sacred doctrina* was still very much in place, constituted a revolutionary venture. Marsh's reputation as a strong advocate of old High Church values²⁰¹ certainly helped to liberate higher criticism from its reputation for heterodoxy. However, the further developments in nineteenth-century England proved that Marsh's approach was too far ahead of his time and his rallying call for a modern understanding of theology as *Wissenschaft* went unheeded for most of the century.

more or less vigorous, in proportion as this branch either flourishes or decays. To Sacred Criticism then the foremost rank is due."

²⁰⁰Ibid., pp. 19-20.

²⁰¹*DNB*, vol. 36 (1893), p. 212, "The clergy of the evangelical school he regarded with suspicion, and he sought to keep his diocese free from them by proposing to all curates seeking to be licensed by him the notorious 'eighty-seven questions', popularly known as a 'trap to catch Calvinists.' He moreover refused to license some already in full orders, who had been duly nominated but had declined to answer the questions, or had returned vague and evasive replies. A violent opposition was roused in the diocese and sedulously fomented by the bishop's enemies." On Herbert Marsh's anti-Evangelicalism and anti-Calvinism see Ford K. Browne, *Fathers of the Victorians. The Age of Wilberforce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp. 308-311.

At Trinity College, Rose was a fellow undergraduate of Thirlwall and Hare, "the most knowledgeable figures with regard to developments in Germany"²⁰² among liberal Anglican circles. The diarist Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867), who as a young man had studied in Jena (1802 to 1805) recalled that when he visited Hare's rooms in Cambridge in 1825, he was shown "the best collection of modern German authors I have ever seen in England"²⁰³. Having been introduced to German theology by the German diplomat and scholar Christian Carl Josias Freiherr von Bunsen (1791-1860)²⁰⁴ and his friend Julius Charles Hare (1795-1855)²⁰⁵, Thirlwall shared their fascination with the advances in German culture and its new approaches to theology. In 1824, the same year in which the fourth edition of Marsh's translation of Michaelis's *Introduction to the New Testament* appeared, had the opportunity of extending his knowledge of the subject at first hand while he and his wife paid an extended visit to the Continent for his health's sake. In his memoir of Rose, Miller wrote:

²⁰²Rogerson, *Criticism*, p. 163.

²⁰³Thomas Sadler (ed.), *Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, 3 vols, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan & Co., 1872), p. 2.

²⁰⁴For the significance of Baron von Bunsen for the introduction of German biblical scholarship to England, see Rogerson, *Criticism*, pp. 121-129.

²⁰⁵For the importance of German literature for the formation of Hare's mind see Erika Behrla, *Julius Hare. Ein Vermittler deutschen Geistes in England* (University of Berlin doctoral thesis, 1944). In January 1820, Hare wrote to his mother of the impact of his German books: "Above all, I owe to them my ability to believe in Christianity, with much implicit and intelligent faith than I otherwise should have been able to have done, for without them I should only have saved myself from dreary suspicions, by a refusal to allow my heart to follow my head, and by a self-willed determination to believe, whether my reason approved of my belief or not." Cited in Rogerson, *Criticism*. 163.

Mr. Rose was accompanied in this tour by his affectionate partner; and from the great exertions he was enabled to make in the five next succeeding years, it is perhaps to be inferred that he derived material present benefit from the excursion, in which he was attended also by one of his pupils, Mr. Henry Tufnell, afterwards of Christ Church, Oxford, who has since distinguished himself in literature as a joint-translator, of 'Müller's Dorians'"²⁰⁶

Apart from Italy and Austria, the Roses also took up residence in Bavaria and Prussia. In particular his experiences in the latter German principality must have disturbed Rose profoundly. "There can be no doubt", as Bishop Headlam declared,

that to a strict and orthodox Anglican of the old High Church party the state of theology in Germany at that time must have caused a considerable shock. Rationalism was in a vigorous condition and was presented in many somewhat extravagant forms, and the state of religion, if we are to credit Mr. Rose, was not satisfactory.²⁰⁷

The fact that Rose's university sermons were delivered immediately after his return to England indicates that already abroad he must have been extraordinarily occupied with the possible impact of German Rationalism on religious belief and practice in England; Nockles, as has been mentioned above, significantly describes the *Discourses* as the "most acute of all his writings". In her unpublished thesis on Hare (1944), Erika Behrla deemed it peculiar that, of all people, Rose, a former fellow-student of Schleiermacher's 'two friends', Hare and Thirlwall, had turned out to be an attacker of German theology.²⁰⁸ Rita Mehlis, on the other hand, has connected Rose's negative perception of German non-episcopal Protestantism to his revealing encounter with one of the leading

²⁰⁶Miller, *Rose*, p. 333.

²⁰⁷Headlam, *Rose*, p. 86.

²⁰⁸See Behrla, *Hare*, p. 138.

representatives of American High Churchmanship, Hobart, the Anglican Bishop of New York, to whom he was introduced in Rome.

Der Begriff der Kirche, zu dem sich Rose als Vertreter der anglikanischen Hochkirchlichkeit bekannt, gewann durch die Betonung, die Hobart diesem Begriff gab, für ihn neue, umwälzende Bedeutung, die ihn fortan zu einem eifrigen Verfechter dieses orthodox-anglikanischen Kirchenbegriffs werden ließ. Da dieser Begriff aber 'the Divine origin of doctrine and Government' der Kirche einschloß, wurde ihm die Situation der deutschen Theologie zu einem abschreckenden Beispiel der sich aus Mißachtung dieser göttlichen Gegebenheiten zeigenden Folgen.²⁰⁹

Hobart was considered among traditional British High Churchmen to be one of the most eminent and influential American contributors to the Anglican revival²¹⁰, and there is doubt that he had left a deep mark on the young Rose. Burgon recalled that Rose was accustomed to regard his friendship with Hobart as "one of the greatest privileges of his life"²¹¹. When in 1825 relations between the Hackney Divines and Hobart became

²⁰⁹Rita Mehlis, *Die religiöse Entwicklung des jungen E. B. Pusey, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Beziehungen zu Deutschland* (doctoral thesis, Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität, 1954). p. 127. [The concept of the Church, to which Rose as a representative of the Anglican high Church subscribed, gained for him a new and radical meaning through the emphasis which Hobart attached to it; which henceforth turned him into a keen champion of this orthodox-Anglican understanding of the Church. Since this concept, however, included 'the Divine origin of doctrine and government' of the Church, the situation in Germany became for him a warning example of the consequences which resulted from the disregard for these Divine institutions.].

²¹⁰See Burgon, *Lives*, first edition, vol. 1, p. 154: "Not only here in England had there been many to bear faithful and fearless witness, but the great American Church had done her full part in 'preparing the way'. Bp. Hobart of Connecticut [1775-1831], - Bp. Doane of New Jersey [1799-1859], - Bp. Whittingham of Maryland [1805-1879], - are the names which more readily present themselves; but there were in truth many others, - names which will go unremembered or unrecorded 'in that Day'."

²¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 133.

temporarily strained over his critical attitude towards the church-state system in England²¹², it was Rose who hastened to his defence despite his private disagreement with Hobart's anti-establishmentarianism.²¹³ Mehlis's suggestion, however, that Rose's disassociation from German Protestantism was by and large inspired by his encounter with Hobart's ecclesiology misjudges both Rose's own distinct theological agenda which, as he had already demonstrated in the past on several occasions, did not shy away from controversy²¹⁴., Mehlis's view also underestimates the impact of the general hardening against non-episcopal Protestantism in pre-Tractarian English High Church circles. As far as Rose's acquaintance with Hare and Thirwall was concerned, it might well have been the case that their enthusiasm for German theology might have prompted Rose hastily to take the initiative; by strange coincidence he delivered his *Discourses* only shortly after Thirwall had published his translation of Schleiermacher's *Essay on Luke*.

It is most likely that Rose had composed the *Discourses* without any idea of publication, for as he stated in the advertisement to the first edition, it

²¹²See John Henry Hobart, *The United States of America Compared with Some European Countries, Particularly England; in a Discourse Delivered in the City of New York, October 1825* (London: no publisher, 1826), pp. 19-35.

²¹³See Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 89.

²¹⁴Dewey, *Barchester*, p. 140, indicates that among the High Church network, Rose's intellectual talents had already early been recognised and systematically fostered for the defence of orthodox theology: "It soon became apparent that he [Rose] was the most gifted champion of traditional theology against the Biblical Critics, and over the next fifteen years the Phalanx carefully stage-managed his career. They put together a package of preferment which gave him a high enough income to concentrate on theological controversies, and a succession of public platforms to propagate his ideas."

was rather certain influential dignitaries of the university who brought the book into being in the same year:

The following Discourses were delivered in the month of May last, in the discharge of my duty as one of the Select Preachers for the past year; and they are now sent to the press in compliance with a very flattering suggestion from the present highly respected Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Le Blanc, and the advice of several University Friends.²¹⁵

Already in the autumn of 1825 the *Discourses* appeared in print with a dedication to his old mentor, Blomfield, then Bishop of Chester. The publication itself made at once a considerable impression on the religious public in both England and Germany. The German Rationalists found themselves rather indiscriminately presented to the English as "that large party of men in Germany who calling themselves Christians, have shown an anxious desire to get rid of all that is supernatural in Christianity, and set aside the positive doctrines of the Gospel scheme, generally on the ground that those doctrines are contrary to their reason"²¹⁶ and indignation at this attack was widespread and reached into some unexpected quarters.

The controversy was already in full swing when Pusey arrived on the scene. In 1828, not yet twenty-eight years old, Pusey published his first book, *An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character lately predominant in the Theology of Germany*, as a critical response to Rose's more indiscriminate assaults. It is probably the greatest irony of this controversy, given his later biographical and theological developments, that of all English divines, the Evangelical Germans so assailed should have received support from Pusey. Rose subsequently

²¹⁵Ibid., p. v.

²¹⁶Rose, *Discourses*, second edition, p. xxix.

replied to his German critics in *an Appendix to the State of the Protestant Religion in Germany* (1828), and in a second and enlarged edition of his *Discourses* (1829) and to Pusey specifically in *A Letter to the Bishop of London [Blomfield] in Reply to Mr Pusey's Work on the Causes of Rationalism in Germany* (1829). Pusey, in return, having been suspected in England of Rationalist tendencies himself, published in a final round a second part of his *Enquiry* (1830).

Rose's *Discourses* on the whole show the signs of an occasional work that was originally not composed for the purpose of publication. For the print Rose extended the draft of his pulpit speeches with a vast quantity of notes. The second edition, though in substance close to the original version, included further additional notes and some major alterations in the structure, which gave the work a far greater systematic coherence. Furthermore, it was only in the second edition that Rose gave a introductory definition of the three major schools of theology which followed the Enlightenment, that is to say 'Rationalism' 'Naturalism' and 'Supernaturalism'. This definition, however, is merely a translation from Stäudlin's *Geschichte des Supranaturalismus and Rationalismus*²¹⁷:

I do not now look to the various meanings in which the word Rationalism has been used. I understand by it here only generally the opinion – that mankind are led by their reason and especially by the natural powers of their mind and soul, and by the observation of nature which surrounds them, to a true knowledge of divine and sensible things – and that reason has the highest authority and right of decision in matters of faith and morality, so that an edifice of faith and morals built on this foundation shall be called Rationalism. It still remains undecided whether this system

²¹⁷[history of Supernaturalism and Rationalism].

declares that a supernatural revelation is impossible and ought to be rejected. That notion rather lies in the word Naturalism, which, however, is (sometimes) used as synonymous with Rationalism. It has been well said, that Naturalism is distinguished from Rationalism by rejecting all and every revelation of God, especially any extraordinary one through certain men. This, however, is not the case with many persons called Naturalists both by themselves and others. Supernaturalism consists in general in the conviction that God has revealed himself supernaturally and immediately. What is revealed might perhaps be discovered by natural methods, but either not at all or very late by those to whom it is revealed. It may also be something which man could never have known by natural methods, and then arises the question, whether man is capable of such a revelation. The notion of a miracle cannot well be separated from such a revelation, whether it happens out of, on, or in men. What is revealed may belong to the order of Nature, but an order higher and unknown to us, which we could never have known without miracles, and cannot bring under the laws of nature.²¹⁸

As far as Rose's knowledge and extensive but eclectic use of German theological literature was concerned, the suspicion was soon aroused among his German critics that the *Discourses* might have been written with the aid of some third party. Thus Rose's German translator speculated if a "gleichgesinnter deutscher Gottesgelehrter"²¹⁹ might have given Rose a helpful hand. On the biased presentation of the current literature, Bretschneider, whose works were repeatedly quoted in the *Discourses* as examples of contemporary Rationalism, described Rose as a thoroughly incompetent authority on German theology:

²¹⁸Rose, *Discourses*, second edition, pp. xvii-xix. See Karl Friedrich Stäudlin, *Geschichte des Rationalismus und Supranaturalismus* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht 1826), pp. 3-4.

²¹⁹[like-minded divine]. Hugh James Rose, *Der Zustand der protestantischen Religion in Teutschland; in vier Reden, gehalten an der Universität zu Cambridge. Mit vielen Anmerkungen zur Erläuterung der Reden*, trans. anon. (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1826, p. vi.

Wie unvollkommen er die deutsche Theologie kennt, erhellt nicht nur daraus, daß er viele wichtige Namen gar nicht kennt ... Um mit der deutschen Theologie vertraut zu werden, besonders mit ihrem jetzigen Zustande, mußte Herr Rose eine viel größere Masse von Schriften durchlesen, besonders aber die theologischen Zeitschriften jetziger Zeit und die Schriften der allgemeinen literarischen Institute. Aber auch das, was der Verf. in Deutschland gelesen und sich angemerkt haben will, kommt in den Verdacht, daß er mehr die einseitigen Angaben einiger Freunde in Deutschland darin gegeben habe, als die Früchte einer eigenen Lectüre. Dieses verräth sich durch manche Aeüßerungen.²²⁰

The *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* went even a step further and named, yet without any further proof, Tholuck in particular as Rose's informant²²¹; an allegation which Rose, however, categorically denied.:

However, in justice to Professor Tholuck, I beg to say, that I am not in any way acquainted with that gentleman, and never received the slightest information from him. But I beg to make a still stronger statement, namely that I received no assistance whatever from any friend, German or English, beyond that actually stated in the notes.²²²

²²⁰Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider, *Apologie der neuern Theologie des evangelischen Deutschlands gegen ihren neuesten Ankläger oder Beurtheilung der Schrift: Der Zustand der protestantischen Religion in Teutschland; in vier Reden gehalten an der Universität zu Cambridge von Hugh James Rose, M.A. von Trinity College, Mit vielen Anmerk. zur Eräuterung der Reden* (Halle: E. U. Kümmler, 1826), pp. 54, 56-57. [Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider, *Reply to the Rev. Hugh J. Rose's Work on the State of Protestantism in Germany*, trans. Anon (London: Whittaker, 1828, pp. 36: Mr. Rose is so imperfectly acquainted with the Theology of Germany, there are many influential names of which, even from his own confession, he is ignorant ... It requires him yet to read much more than he has done, particularly our modern periodical publications and the collections of our literary societies, to write upon German Theology, for it is probable that he has been inclined rather to give way to the partial views of his friends than to depend upon what he has himself read and seen. This deference to the opinion of others betrays itself upon many occasions.].

²²¹ See *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*, 12 October 1826.

Even if there is no evidence for the direct involvement of a third party in the writing of the *Discourses*, the analysis of the sources shows that Rose depended heavily in his argumentation on the works of German writers. Large parts of the book are in fact either paraphrases or direct translations. The *Eclectic Review*, for instance, showed that pages 67-70, where Rose speaks of the Rationalist approach to biblical exegesis, are with the exception of a few sentences little more than a translation of Karl Christian Titmann's *Meletemata Sacra* (1816).²²³ Moreover, Rose's work contains quite a huge number of inaccuracies, misunderstandings and mistakes. In a note on page 126, for instance, Rose stated that certain sentiments of Wegschneider as to the natural explanations of the visions, dreams, voices in the New Testament were subsequently also held by von Ammon. However, von Ammon's *Summa*, the work to which Rose alluded appeared in fact much earlier than Wegschneider's work. In short, despite the enormous bibliographical material displayed in the *Discourses* one cannot help thinking that it is questionable whether Rose really had studied all those works to which he alluded or referred. As the *Eclectic Review* sharply observed:

Indeed, many passages in Mr. Rose's book contain symptoms of partial and inaccurate information, of haste in the drawing up, or of inconsequential reasoning. He has rendered service to the serious inquirer by presenting important facts and many just observations; but we fear that the utility of them will be essentially diminished, by the defects which run through the whole work; by a want of

²²²Hugh James Rose, *An Appendix to 'The State of the Protestant Religion in Germany'; Being a Reply to the German Critiques on that Work* (London: C. J. Rivington, 1828), p. 98.

²²³See *Eclectic Review*, vol. 28 (1827), pp. 16-17.

perception of the primary causes of the awful mischief which he has portrayed, and a total failure in his prescription for a cure.²²⁴

Yet, it should be borne in mind that after his return to England Rose belonged to a small group of scholars who had, even though limited through his orthodox eyes, a deeper knowledge of German culture than many other of his fellow countrymen. As has been shown above, the theological world in Germany constituted for ordinary Englishmen of that time rather something of a *terra incognita*: "Little as yet was known about the matter here in England."²²⁵ In the aforementioned translation of Schleiermacher's *Essay on Luke* from 1825, the Cambridge man Thirlwall harshly reproached the academic world of another ancient English university for nurturing a climate of ignorance and prejudice towards German theology, out of a lack of fluency in German:

But it would almost seem as if at Oxford the knowledge of German subjected a divine to the same suspicion of heterodoxy which we know was attached some centuries back to the knowledge of Greek; as if it was thought there that a German theologian is dangerous enough when he writes in Latin, but that when he argues in his own language there can be no escaping his venom.²²⁶

This furious attack did not spring out of nothing but was directly aimed against the recent publication of the Bampton Lectures for the year 1824²²⁷, by John Josias Conybeare (1779-1824), holder of the chair for

²²⁴Ibid., p. 6.

²²⁵Burton, *Lives*, first edition, vol. 1, p. 132.

²²⁶Schleiermacher, *Essay*, p. ix.

²²⁷John Josias Conybeare, *The Bampton Lectures for the Year MDCCCXXIV being an Attempt to trace the History and to ascertain the*

Anglo-Saxon, and since 1812 also professor of poetry at Oxford. In his lectures, Conybeare intended to give an historical account of the development of the interpretation of scripture as a theological discipline covering the time from the Old Testament to the newly-fashionable school of Hutchinson, claiming that "no work had as yet appeared in our own language professedly dedicated to the history and criticism of this branch of scriptural exposition."²²⁸ At first glance the Bampton Lectures give the impression of slight sympathy for certain stages of the development of modern German biblical exegesis. For instance Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560) and Luther, the "great father of the Reformation", are appreciated for their endeavours in the revival of literary and historical criticism.²²⁹ Salomo Glassius (1593-1656), pupil of the greatest representative of Lutheran Orthodoxy, Johann Gerhard (1582-1637), is described as "one of the ablest and most pious systematic writers, in every department of biblical criticism, who had as yet appeared in the Christian Church."²³⁰ Conybeare went even so far as to condone more rigorous exegetical principles as introduced by Johann August Ernesti (1707-1781), Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (1694-1755) and Johann David Michaelis (1717-1791).

However, by the same token, those names also mark the ultimate 'pain bearer' within the recent development of biblical interpretation: "Had the

Limits of the Secondary and Spiritual Interpretation of Scripture (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1824).

²²⁸Ibid., p. iii.

²²⁹See *ibid.*, pp. 230-232.

career of critical refinement upon this and upon other points terminated here, we might perhaps have claimed for ourselves somewhat more of Christian liberty in the spiritual exposition and application of Scripture, but could not have found any serious cause for reprehension or complaint."²³¹ Yet, with the introduction of Johann Salomo Semler's (1725-1791) new system, the modern theological schools of the Lutheran churches in Germany had gone beyond the bounds of what Conybeare deemed to be acceptable. Semler, Conybeare's great *enfant terrible*, is virtually the epitome of a new heterodoxy which finally diverted German scholarship from the straight and narrow and led to an "almost general and utter dereliction of Christian faith and doctrine."²³² In nearly every lecture there are allusions to that rise of a new method of biblical criticism which supposedly "has widely, it might be said, almost universally obtained in the protestant churches of continental Europe"²³³.

The tenor of these remarks leaves no doubt about Conybeare's strong disapproval of the latest development in Germany:

In our own age and country we have not been without examples of the same defection from the humility and simplicity of the believer's wisdom; and in that continental school which was alluded to in our last lecture, the like compromise of Christian faith and principle at the shrine of the uncertain and fluctuating theories of human philosophy has been mainly instrumental in reducing the profession of Christianity to a state, in which it is scarcely deemed

²³⁰Ibid., p. 256.

²³¹Ibid., p. 276.

²³²Ibid., p. 280.

²³³Ibid., p. 8.

of consequence sufficient to excite the distaste or opposition even of those who totally and avowedly disbelieve and disown it.²³⁴

Conybeare was no less worried than Rose about the possible implications of the reception of continental critical methods for the religious life in England:

This dereliction of Christian truth, and (in speaking of those who yet call themselves by the name of the Redeemer) it may be not unfairly be added of Christian duty, has been there, and may be elsewhere, gradual, and to incautious minds nearly imperceptible in its fatal progress; and the student cannot therefore be too early or serious be warned against so unauthorised, uncandid, and, I will venture to add, so irrational a view of the oracles of divine truth.²³⁵

Thirlwall, outraged at such a biased account of the state of German Christianity, scathingly dismissed Conybeare's simplified view that Semler and the Rosenmüllers completely represented the modern German school of divinity, and called into question any judgement on this issue made by someone not fluent in German:

Unfortunately for those who wish to become acquainted with the modern German divinity, without burdening themselves with this obnoxious accomplishment, the German divines continue more and more to prefer their own language to the Latin. Very few works of value have for many years past been written in the latter; and, at all events, whoever attempts to form a judgement on the merits of the modern school, without a knowledge of the former, will be either greatly disappointed or grossly deceived. To this it is owing that, although so much of Mr. Conybeare's book is directed against that school, it does not contain one of the modern names which every one at all acquainted with the literature of Germany has been accustomed to respect as the chief ornaments of its theology.²³⁶

²³⁴Ibid., pp. 73-74.

²³⁵Ibid., pp. 74-75.

²³⁶Schleiermacher, *Essay*, p. ix.

It comes as no great surprise that Rose had not been unduly worried about Thirlwall's criticism. On the contrary, he even referred in his *Discourses* to Conybeare in order to back up his own remarks. Though the first edition contains merely a short acknowledgement,²³⁷ in the second, enlarged one, Rose added several insertions taken from Conybeare's Bampton Lectures.²³⁸ Apart from Conybeare's lectures Rose also briefly referred to Bishop John Jebb (1775-1833) of Limerick and the Nonconformist divine John Pye Smith (1774-1851) as further warning voices against the infection of German theology.

Smith is mainly known for his efforts on behalf of the reconciliation of modern sciences with the biblical witness.²³⁹ Ultimately Rose and Pusey's 'German War' was an internal Anglican conflict, which probably says as much about the contemporary state of 'Anglican identity' as about the actual character of German theology. Conversely, as a Dissenter, Smith saw himself - less ambiguously than many English Anglicans - as an integrated part of a general European Protestant academic and ecclesiastical world, and thus as more open-minded about the developments of the theological schools on the Continent. Therefore a consideration of his judgement might enlighten some striking aspects of the whole dispute, and will give further evidence that the negative

²³⁷Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, p. vii, stated that only after the completion of his sermons had he learned that "the late learned Mr. Conybeare had touched on the subject of the German rationalizing school".

²³⁸See for instance, Rose, *Discourses*, second edition, pp. 72, 74.

reception of German theology in the nineteenth century was by no means merely an Anglican problem.

Scholarly interest among Evangelical Nonconformists in contemporary developments in German theology was generally high, and there existed considerable grounds for mutual respect and even co-operation between those Dissenting branches of the Reformation and their 'established brethren' of the European mainland.²⁴⁰ At a time when contact between the Church of England and German Protestantism was rare, it was the Nonconformists, as Glover pointed out, "who furnished most of the English students in German universities."²⁴¹ In Germany, despite the fact that the relationship between the Free Churches, dissenting groups and established Protestantism was still a skeleton in the cupboard of ecclesiastical history (as in the tale of woe of the Baptists, and of the thousands of dissenting Lutherans who as late as the 1830s were forced to emigrate to North America and Australia because of their refusal to accept the liturgical reforms imposed by Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia), the general tolerance towards English dissenting parties was different from the level accorded to their German counterparts. In his *Ansichten und Beobachtungen über Religion und Kirche in England*²⁴², the German divine Karl Heinrich Sack emphatically declared to his German readers: "So kann ... niemand rechtgläubiger und strenger in den Hauptlehren der

²³⁹See *DNB*.

²⁴⁰See Robbins, *Germany*, pp. 22-24; Glover, *Nonconformists*.

²⁴¹Glover, *ibid.*, 42.

²⁴²[Views and Observation on Religion and the Church in England].

Reformation, in der vom Glauben, der Wiedergeburt und der Gnade Jesu seyn, als der größte Teil der englischen Dissenter."²⁴³ By following nothing but the great principle of Christian liberty, the Dissenters were even regarded as "ein nothwendiges und wohlthätiges Gegengewicht gegen die Einseitigkeit des bischöflich-königliches Prinzips"²⁴⁴ of the Church of England, their right to exist justified by the 'deplorable state' of the Anglican establishment.²⁴⁵ Such unmistakable criticism of the Church of England went together with strong feelings of solidarity with the dissenting parties from a German Protestant point of view.

Smith's *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*,²⁴⁶ praised by Rose as an "able work",²⁴⁷ is generally regarded as a "solid contribution to the defence of the Trinitarian doctrine".²⁴⁸ It certainly shows him as a learned expert in biblical theology, whose assured knowledge of the status quo in scholarship is beyond doubt. The sound acquaintance with the exegetical debate among German divines, however, is all the more remarkable considering that Smith only learned the German language late in life. First,

²⁴³Sack, *Ansichten*, pp. 24-25. [No-one can be more orthodox (*rechtgläubig*) and firm in the main principles of the Reformation, those of Faith, rebirth and the grace of Jesus, than the majority of English Dissenters.].

²⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 81. [a necessary and beneficial counterbalance to the one-sidedness of the episcopal-royal principle of the Church of England].

²⁴⁵See, *ibid.*, p. 94.

²⁴⁶John Pye Smith, *The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah: An Inquiry with a view to a satisfactory Determination of the Doctrine taught in the holy Scriptures concerning the person of Christ, including a careful examinationv of the Rev. Thomas Belsham's calm inquiry, and of other Unitarian works of the same subject*, 2 vols (London: Rest Fennner, 1818).

²⁴⁷Rose *Discourses*, first edition, p. vii.

²⁴⁸*DNB*.

Smith was conscious of the failures of certain theologically conservative parties whom he reproached for being "backward to critical inquiry, and prone to confide in authorised versions and received readings of the scriptures"²⁴⁹. Yet, not entirely objecting to a positive utilisation of critical biblical interpretation, Smith has still to be regarded as an exponent of a previous theologically orthodox epoch, which is pre-critical at least in modern terms. His own uncompromising retention of the identity of the sacred scriptures and revelation was diametrically opposed to the new understanding of the grammatical and historical exegesis arising from the Age of Enlightenment. Although the *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah* is on the whole directed against the growing penetration of what he regarded as Unitarian and Socinian writings in the field of biblical research, Smith vehemently refused to apply the radical change in biblical hermeneutics to the study of the scriptures. The fundamental distinction between the Bible and God's Word, as decisively introduced by Semler and propagated by the so-called Neological school, would undermine the orthodox formulation of Christian faith and doctrine, in the same way as it had acted upon the Unitarian system.

In their own ways, both Unitarianism and the Neological system were synonymous for Smith with infidelity and atheism. According to Smith in particular the modern history of the Church of Geneva was an instructive instance of the deterioration of Christianity through a fatal attachment to Unitarianism. At that time religion was reduced there "almost entirely to

²⁴⁹Smith, *Scripture*, vol. 1, p. 50.

the worship of one God; at least with all above the lowest ranks: respect for Jesus Christ and the Bible is perhaps the only thing which distinguishes the Christianity of Geneva from pure Deism."²⁵⁰ Alternatively, Smith's reception of recent trends in German theology and religious practice appeared to tread a fine and often paradoxical line between acknowledgement of the distinguished standards in German scholarship on the one hand,²⁵¹ and his vast disapproval of its 'critical vanity' on the other. In short, Smith's diagnosis of the state of the Protestant religion in Germany shares some similarities with the impressions of Rose and Conybeare. Smith also detected a fatal rationalist tendency among German divines, or, in his own words,

the spirit of absurd and impious licentiousness which has prevailed, within the last forty years, among the clergy, and in the universities, of Saxony, Hanover, and Prussia, that, not only has all supernatural revelation been by some public denied, but even Atheism is said to have been preached from the pulpit, with hardly the affectation of disguise²⁵².

Yet in contrast to Rose, Smith was less pessimistic in his appraisal of the extent to which Germany had lost its hold of Christian fundamentals. "Happily this extravagance of mental wickedness has produced a revulsion," wrote Smith, moderating the rigidity of his verdict, "and the voice of reason and piety begins to regain the ascendancy."²⁵³ Typically enough Smith associated this revival of religious life in Germany with

²⁵⁰Ibid., p. 86.

²⁵¹See, for instance, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 114.

²⁵²Ibid., p. 474.

²⁵³Ibid.

figures, ^{such} as Karl Christian Tittmann (1744-1820) and Georg Friedrich Seiler (1733-1807)²⁵⁴, representatives of a neo-orthodoxy whose memories had paled into insignificance long before; conversely Schleiermacher's contribution was not mentioned at all.

Although Smith repeatedly stressed in his exegetical works the importance of the German language for biblical studies together with the benefits and needs of its greater cultivation among Englishmen²⁵⁵, nevertheless even as late as the 1840s he still saw some alarming symptoms of a growing influence of the writings of German Rationalists, such as Wilhelm Gesenius (1786-1842) and Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780-1849), and felt obliged to raise his voice in warning against the dangers of the Neologist system: "Books have been published in our country, with appearances of having flowed out of the fountain to which I have alluded; books boasting of pure ideal Christianity, and of Christian Theism, and pretending to assign an origin to Christianity which, perhaps a little disguised, turns out to be merely human."²⁵⁶ Ultimately, even with his kind disposition in principle to German Protestantism, Smith's attitude was not immune to some horrendous simplifications. In his second edition of his *Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ* from 1842, Smith directed a strong parting shot against Hegel, in which he not

²⁵⁴On Seiler see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 4, pp. 98-99.

²⁵⁵See, for instance, John Smith, *Four Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Jesus Christ and the Atonement and Redemption Thence Occurring: With Supplementary Notes and Illustrations*, second edition (London: Jackson and Walford, 1842), p. 287.

²⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 173.

only raised the common prejudice of treating Hegel's Idealistic system as an equivalent to atheism, but also presented the German philosopher in such simplified ideological proximity to Strauß, that it seemed as though their systems constituted a single phenomenon: "The tendency, indeed the avowal, is to a system of revived Pantheism, - Atheism, in almost its horrid nakedness, for the thin veil is only an insult to the understandings of men; - the system of Hegel and Strauss."²⁵⁷

It is only in a few footnotes to his *Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Limerick* (1823) that Bishop Jebb, the third witness whom Rose put forward for his charges, touched upon contemporary developments in German biblical scholarship. A writer of "sound and varied learning"²⁵⁸ himself, Jebb constantly showed great concern for the quality of theological studies among the clergy. Even as a young chaplain to the Archbishop of Cashel, he made great efforts to raise the standards in the examination of candidates for orders, an endeavour to which he also contributed with zeal as Bishop of Limerick. After the first visitation of his diocese, Jebb delivered a charge to his clergy in which he put special emphasis on the utmost importance of the study and interpretation of the sacred scriptures. "Let no day pass", the bishop advised the younger clergy, "in which you shall not study some portion of the scriptures."²⁵⁹ As far as theological literature was concerned, Jebb had no doubts about the

²⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 173-174.

²⁵⁸*DNB*.

superiority of Anglican scholarship: "I do not scruple to say, that, for the sound and manly institution of a theological student, any classification of any one of our great, standard, Church-of-England divines, is in my judgement, far preferable to that classification, of German origin, which a Divinity professor of great name, and, doubtless, of considerable attainments, has attempted ... to naturalize amongst us."²⁶⁰

It is not difficult to imagine to whose 'great name' Jebb alluded in this derogatory remark on the recent application of German biblical criticism to the study of divinity in Britain - none other than Bishop Marsh, whose lectures on biblical criticism in the University Church at Cambridge are regarded as "among the first to popularize German critical methods in England"²⁶¹.

Ironically, Rose chose precisely the same venue, the University church at Cambridge, for his great counter-attack against German criticism. By that time Marsh had already been Bishop of Peterborough for six years. Thus it is worth noting that in his *Discourses* Rose simply passed over the decisive involvement of one of the senior clergymen of his own Church in this increasing approval of those 'scientific' methodologies of German biblical exegesis. Although Rose did not mention Marsh and his role at all in his *Discourses*, he repeatedly alluded to the fact that some of the works of

²⁵⁹John Jebb, *A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Limerick at the Primary Visitation in the Cathedral Church of S. Mary on Thursday, the 19th of June 1823* (Dublin: Richard Milliken, 1823), p. 17.

²⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

German divines are already in usage, "although deeply imbued with the mischievous doctrines of the source whence they spring"²⁶². In the second edition Rose even intensified his great concern about the infiltration of German method into English theology:

The divines, to whom I have alluded, have, with the characteristic industry of their nation, published laborious works in almost every department of theological inquiry. Although they rejected, as I have said, all belief in the Divine origin of Christianity, they retained the name of Christians, and the language and profession of Christianity. Since our intercourse with the continent has become free, many of the works of these divines have found their way into the hands of English students of divinity. It appears to me, therefore, indispensable, that these students should have a clear conception of the principles of such writers, that they may not, by the deceptive use of Christian phraseology, be betrayed, at a period of life when their own judgement is not matured, into conclusions wholly subversive of Christianity.²⁶³

Rose's negative perception of the developments within contemporary German Protestantism has to be seen in the context of both his own orthodox High Church agenda and the wider pan-European Romantic reaction against the Enlightenment. Right at the beginning of his sermons Rose categorically rejected those tendencies in theology which due to a fatal correlation with the modern *Zeitgeist* tended to "exalt and exaggerate the powers and capacities of the human mind"²⁶⁴.

But in no subject which presents itself to our view is this tendency and belief more clearly to be traced than in the speculations of the age on religious truth; on no subject is the boundless extent of the

²⁶¹ODCC, p. 1042

²⁶²Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, p. 13.

²⁶³Rose, *Discourses*, second edition, pp. 2-3.

²⁶⁴Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, p. 1.

powers of the understanding more fully and entirely recognized. The preliminary condition indeed at present of any consideration of a religious subject, is not only the moral right, but the full capacity of each individual to judge of it. That indeed in what concerns individual salvation, the individual should be the sole judge; and that reason was given him especially that he might become so, are assertions which neither admit nor require any answer. The view on which they proceed, and which represents the Deity as in a separate relation with each individual, is itself false and partial; and although by his own progress in holiness made through God's grace, each man will be judged at last, there want many links in the argument which thence infers that he can best judge how to gain the wisdom which is to make him wise unto salvation, and that he is to seek it in blind confidence in his own powers.²⁶⁵

With its proclamation of true religion as religion 'within the limits of reason', the Enlightenment, as Rose continued, was following a dangerous path that only could lead to religious arbitrariness:

We cannot in that case doubt for a moment that this is one of the outrageous attempts of reason to subject religion entirely to her decision; we cannot be blind to the obvious fact that if such a principle were recognized, every new school of philosophy would produce a revolution of religious opinion, and mould all belief according to its own views and principles, and that thus there would be nothing fixed or stable in religion while the world lasted.²⁶⁶

Again and again Rose impressed upon his congregation the dangers of the current overrating of reason. For him, the foremost important lesson that was to be drawn from the *Discourses*, was above all the conviction,

that unassisted reason never fails to mislead those who resign themselves to its guidance; that whatever form it assumes, under every form it is frail or fallacious; that whether it endeavours to elevate the being by the use of mere human and earthly means, or

²⁶⁵Ibid., p. 2.

²⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 20-21.

by connecting it with its maker through the medium of the imagination and the sense, its efforts are equally impotent.²⁶⁷

Unlike England, where apparently the Rationalist party was “below contempt”²⁶⁸, Germany, “very far the most learned nation of Europe”²⁶⁹, had, as Rose saw it, come entirely under the spell of Rationalism. Rose’s blunt verdict on the German Protestant Church as a ‘mere shadow of a name’, with religious indifference in almost all its members, might have been received by his contemporaries as an ‘outrageous slur’ and an ‘incompetent interference from a foreign greenhorn’, but Herder’s above quoted famous parody of the late eighteenth Evangelical Church as the “Bildungsakademie für Bürger und Untertanen Sr. Majestät” shows that there was nothing new or sensational in his general assumption that established Protestantism had recently faced a severe crisis of identity. Even Rose’s polemical exaggerations echoed in substance some of the critical views of his German orthodox counterparts. In as striking a parallelism, Hengstenberg’s *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* deplored in 1829 the advanced loss of hold in Germany on the fundamnetals of Christianity by a majority of members of the Evangelical Churches:

Es ist nicht zu verkennen, daß in den meisten Gegenden Deutschlands bei der großen Mehrzahl der äußeren Bekenner des Christenthums ein unchristlicher Geist herrscht. Dieser Geist ist theils der gewöhnliche einer weltlichen und nur auf das Vergängliche gerichteten Gesinnung, theils der Geist des

²⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 102.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

What distinguished Rose, however, from the inner-German opposition to rationalistic developments in theology was that his criticism did not stop at the condemnation of a particular school of theology, but went rather to the very heart of German Protestantism as a system. For the purpose of this study, the *Discourses* are therefore as valuable as defining the pre-Tractarian High Church reception of Continental non-episcopal Protestantism as for their portrayal of the state of religious affairs in early nineteenth-century Germany.

Rose did not only attribute the rise of Rationalism in Germany to the distinct features of the intellectual make-up of the Germans²⁷¹, but he was also in no doubt that German Protestantism, as such, with its 'principle of the inviolable right of private judgement', was doomed to fall under the spell of the Enlightenment:

These churches boast of it as their very highest privilege, and the very essence of a Protestant church that its opinions should constantly change. Here the words of the most esteemed among their modern historians [Schröckh]: 'Our divines recognize the necessity of enquiring, of correcting, and of ameliorating their belief as often as any new views require it; and they do not deny the possibility of making that belief more free from false

²⁷⁰*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, vol. 2 (1829), p. 12. [There is no denying that in most areas of Germany among the large majority of the nominal confessors of Christianity an unchristian spirit prevails. This spirit is partly the common spirit of a worldly ethos which is only directed towards transitoriness, partly the spirit of unbelief in Revelation and apostasy from Christianity as a positive religion.]

²⁷¹See Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, p. xi.

explanations and arbitrary adjuncts, firmer in some parts, and more connected in all.'²⁷²

How has such a principle taken root? Rose set out to prove that the Protestant Churches in Germany by their very constitution lacked those characteristic marks²⁷³ which he deemed to be essential for the Church of Christ:

The great safeguards which must be requisite for the preservation of any church, are obviously the possession of a clear and distinct declaration of faith, to which strict adherence must be required, of a liturgy which shall practically apply the doctrines of that declaration to men's wants and infirmities, and of a government which shall diligently repress every tendency to carelessness, and every attempt at innovation.²⁷⁴

Rose regarded the German Reformation as deficient on all three counts. First, it gave inadequate importance to the Catholic Creeds. Melancthon's *Augsburg Confession*, Luther's *Schmalkaldic Articles* and two *Catechisms* and the *Book of Concord* were not only 'long and boring' but had arisen from the particular circumstances of the sixteenth century, and their significance was confined to the time and place which had given birth to them:

With regard to a declaration of faith, the following statement will show, that though both the Lutheran and Calvinist churches of Germany nominally possess one, they virtually have none. When

²⁷²Ibid., p. 20.

²⁷³On the development of traditional High Church ecclesiology see Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 146-183.

²⁷⁴Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, p. 14.

Luther's separation from the Roman church took place, it was only in the natural order of things, that the doctrines of the Reformers should be misrepresented, and that they should feel it necessary frequently to issue declarations of their real belief, in order to close the outcry of calumny and falsehood. Unfortunately, these declarations, unfit as they were, from their controversial nature, for such a purpose, were successively adopted as rules of faith by the Lutheran church.²⁷⁵

Rose's observation that as result of a increasing objection to the symbolical writings of the Lutheran Church, ever since the era of Pietism the qualification 'as far as they agree with Scripture' had bestowed on the ministry "the most perfect liberty of believing and teaching whatever their own fancy may suggest"²⁷⁶ corresponded with a widespread assertion but does not altogether bear close historical examination. In his work on the theology of the time of Lessing, K. Aner has shown that around 1780 in Southern Germany, particularly in Württemberg and the markgravate of Bayreuth "Tendenzen Auf ein schärferes Anziehen der Bekenntnisszüge im Gange waren"²⁷⁷. Other German principalities soon took similar measures, of which a royal decree in Prussia from 1788 is the most famous example of authoritarian opposition to the "unbridled liberty" of the ecclesiastical Enlightenment. Named after the Prussian secretary Johann Christoph von Wöllner (1732-1800), under whose overall charge this royal order was imposed, the *Wöllnersche Religionsedikt* was intended to restrict the religious freedom of the preachers and to bind all public teaching, under threat of penalty, to the norm of the church confessions. Those

²⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 14-15.

²⁷⁶Ibid., p. 16.

²⁷⁷ Cited in Hornig, *Lehre*, p. 137. [there were tendencies to a tighter rein on the symbolical writings].

drastic politics of systematic supervision of professors, pastors and candidates for the ministry, however, provoked a storm of public indignation and did not at all achieve their purpose. On the contrary, the Wöllner edict remained on the whole ineffective and had already ceased to be in force in January 1797 with the accession Friedrich Wilhelm's III to the throne.²⁷⁸

Yet the official commitment to the church confessions such as the Book of Concord (1580) for most of the Lutheran Churches, was a powerful counter-balance to the tendency to individualise Christianity and relativise its ecclesiastical norms, and even in the Enlightenment was not relinquished by the authorities: in 1779, the faculty of theology at Halle rejected the appointment of the Naturalist Bahrdt with the explanation that it was one of the responsibilities of the faculty,

Nicht etwa nur die Verbreitung unmittelbar irreligiöser Grundsätze auf hiesiger Universität zu verhüten, sondern auch, wie es uns die allergnädigst ertheilten Statuten der Friedrichsuniversität zur Pflicht machen, über die Lehren zu halten, die in der heiligen Schrift und nach ihr in der augsburgischen Confession begriffen sind²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸On the *Wöllnersche Religionsedikt* see *RGG* 3, vol. 6 (1962), cols. 1789-1790.

²⁷⁹Cited in Hornig, *Lehre*, p. 136. [not only to prevent the spread of direct irreligious principles at this university, but also, as the most graciously granted statutes of the Friedrichsuniversität have made it our duty, to hold to the doctrines which are in Holy Scripture and the Augsburg Confession].

What Enlightenment and Neology objected to was not so much to the particular doctrines of those confessions as to the obligation to believe them by law. In the words of Hornig:

Die Gesamttenenz läßt sich so charakterisieren, daß Neologie und Aufklärungstheologie zwar gegen ein lehrgesetzliches Verständnis der Bekenntnisautorität gekämpft, keineswegs aber die kirchlichen Bekenntnisse generell abgelehnt und demzufolge für die Alleingeltung des Schriftprinzips plädiert haben. So gewiß man von der historischen Relativität der kirchlichen Bekenntnisse und der Revisionsbedürftigkeit einzelner Lehren überzeugt war, konnte man sich doch nicht der Erkenntnis verschließen, daß eine Symbolverpflichtung der Geistlichen und Lehrer so lange erforderlich sei, als die unterschiedlichen Konfessionen ('Religionsparteien') staatsrechtlich Bestand hatten.²⁸⁰

The situation was therefore a complicated one, to which Rose did not do justice, though there was some substance to his complaint. Lutherans retained a formal legal adherence to beliefs which they did not feel required to believe. In the last respect, Rose, from his own Anglican High Church viewpoint, was correct if somewhat imprecise.

This was related for Rose to his second point, that there had been no sort of order or continuity in the development of the German liturgy, which had

²⁸⁰Ibid., p. 135. [The overall tendency can be characterized as follows: Neology and the theology of the Enlightenment objected to a legalistic understanding of the authority of the confessions but by no means rejected the church confessions in general and therefore pleaded for the exclusive validity of scripture. As much as one was convinced of the historical relativity of the church confessions and of the necessity of a revision of some of their doctrines, one nevertheless could not deny the principle that the obligation of the clergy and teachers to the symbols was necessary for as long as the different denominations ('parties of religion') endured within the framework of constitutional law.]

seen the proliferation of a whole variety of orders of service, with no connection to what had gone before.

With respect to a Liturgy, although there are forms appointed for public prayer, and for the administration of the sacraments, in some, and perhaps all the reformed churches, yet these forms were not imperative, but might be, and I believe, always now are dispensed with, at the pleasure of the minister. Public prayer was thus left to the fancy, the enthusiasm, or the carelessness of individual teachers; and as the people could not expect any consistency from them in doctrine which they heard from their pulpits, so neither could they hope to be led in their addresses to the throne of grace, always to pray for those great aids which human infirmity always requires, but sometimes to be carried away into fanaticism, and sometimes to be lost in indifference ... In the Lutheran church of Germany again, although immediately after the reformation several liturgies were composed, no one was generally received, no one was enforced by authority; and of those different forms which were adopted by different evangelical states, almost all have long fallen into disuse from the want of a church government, which had either the ability or the will to enforce their use, and from the changes of opinion and entire indifference of the clergy themselves²⁸¹

But third, and more fundamentally for Rose, both these species of disorder were to be traced to the lack in the German Churches of the apostolic authority which the Church of England had providentially preserved. The leading principle of the English Reformation had been a return to the teaching of the early Church and, with it, to the authority of its bishops:

The dispute is not here whether we be right or wrong in our doctrines, but the principle on which we separated from the Roman church, was, not that we had discovered any new views on Scripture doctrines, but that we desired to return to the primitive confession, the views held by the apostles and early fathers of the church ... And with these feelings they [the English Reformers] have given us a declaration of faith, without subscription to which,

²⁸¹Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, pp. 19-20.

as thank God, no one can be a teacher in the church, so if he afterwards depart from it, he must depart also from communion with the church which holds it, and not disturb our peace by inculcating what his fancy dictates as a more excellent way. Here then is a marked difference between our own and other Protestant churches. Our church receives only what was received in those ages when truth must have been known; the others profess that perhaps in no age has truth yet been recognized, and that her genuine form may still remain to discover²⁸²

Rose adopted a very superior attitude towards the apostolic character of the German Reformation. As in the Anglican tradition, so also Lutheran ecclesiology had never given up the claim to apostolicity and catholicity. Indeed, as Horst Georg Pöhlmann has pointed out, the dimension of apostolicity is, according to Lutheran understanding, the primary *nota* of the Church in terms of the "correspondence of her redeeming verbum invisible et visible with the apostolic testimony of the New Testament"²⁸³. Yet the characteristics of the true Church are according to Lutheran ecclesiology not to be found in the ontological characteristics of her objective structure, such as tradition, hierarchical constitution or apostolic succession, but in the means of her effectiveness, that is to say the effectiveness of the Word and sacrament. The famous seventh article *de ecclesia* of the Augsburg Confession (1530) gives a clear account of what the reformers deemed as necessary for the unity of the Church:

Item docent, quod una sancta ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit. Est autem ecclesia congregatio sanctorum, in qua evangelium pure docetur et recte administrantur sacramenta. Et ad veram unitatem ecclesiae satis est consentire de doctrina evangelii et de administratione sacramentorum. Nec necesse est ubique similes esse traditiones humanus seu ritus aut cerimoniae ab hominibus

²⁸²Ibid., pp. 21-22.

²⁸³Horst Georg Pöhlmann, *Abriß der Dogmatik* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1973) p. 239.

institutas; sicut inquit Paulus: Una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et pater omnium etc.²⁸⁴

All that is needed for the spiritual unity of the Church are, from a Lutheran perspective, purity of proclamation and the right administration of the sacraments. "There is only one office necessary for the unity of the church", as Leif Grane summed up the new ecclesiological concept of the Reformation in his commentary to the Augsburg Confession,

the ministry of the Word. The office of bishop can never be the church's foundation, any more than its absence can deprive the church of anything essential. The church can be true church without it. The office of bishop belongs to the category of *traditiones humanae* (human traditions) which may be preserved as far as possible without thereby being necessary.²⁸⁵

Here Lutheran teaching and Rose were obviously at odds. Rose did not believe that the episcopate was merely a 'human tradition'. His conception of the Church as having its integral existence in its very episcopal structure obviously approaches to both the Anglo-Catholicism of the Oxford Movement and Roman Catholicism, and arguably represents as much a departure from classical Anglican Protestantism as from German Lutheranism.

²⁸⁴CA, art. 7, [Grane, *Augsburg Confession*, p. 89, "Our churches also teach that one holy church is to continue forever. The church is the assembly of saints in which the Gospel is taught purely and the sacraments are administered rightly. For the true unity of the church it is enough to agree concerning the teaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments. It is not necessary that human traditions or rites and ceremonies, instituted by men, should be alike everywhere. It is as Paul says, 'One faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, etc. (Eph. 4:5,6).'"].

Indeed if Protestantism was right to change doctrine without constant reference to the teaching of the episcopal order of primitive Christianity, then Rose was no Protestant: "If then it be an essential principle of a Protestant church that she possess a constant power of varying her belief, let us remember that we are assuredly no Protestant church."²⁸⁶ The German reformers had preferred the principle of private judgement to that of the apostolic authority of the early Church. From private judgement had come the Rationalism of the Enlightenment, in which free thought had taken the place of church teaching.

And those means were unquestionably the deficient constitutions of the Protestant German churches, the entire want of control in them over the opinions of their own ministers, and the consequent wild and licentious exercise of what was deemed not the base merely, but the essence of Protestantism, the right of private judgement, on every question however difficult or however momentous.²⁸⁷

Rose also derived the idea of religious doubt from the Protestant principle of private judgement. Such doubt, he thought, was excluded from an authoritative and apostolic Church like the Church of England. Rose devoted his remaining space to showing how Protestantism had been corrupted in Germany through the influence of philosophy on theology. Rose identified this philosophical influence with what we would call the Enlightenment and which he defined as the principle of the sovereignty of reason over Divine Revelation. The apostles were the guardians of the sole revelation, given once and for all. Worldly philosophy has nothing to do with Revelation but in Germany had presumed to rewrite its doctrines in a

²⁸⁵Grane, *Augsburg Confession*, p. 97.

²⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 21.

²⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 10.

manner which Rose sought to demonstrate from the history of German Protestant theology.

This then is the state of things, on the hypothesis of a divine revelation, truth was a clearly revealed at the outset of Christianity, as it was ever intended to be known; its record is in Scripture; and if doubt as to the meaning of Scripture with respect to doctrine occurs, we can appeal to witnesses, competent from the time when they lived, and the knowledge they must have enjoyed, to remove those doubts entirely. Where then is earthly philosophy? It is excluded! There is no scope under such a system for its discoveries or inventions, no room for its theories, no arena for its genius ... Any examination of the writings of the modern theologians of Germany, will I think, show beyond all doubt that this is in fact the explanation of the progress of things there, and of the rejection of Christianity by those who have assumed to themselves the character of the modern reformers of Germany, and have professed most falsely to walk in the same steps as the early reformers, an only to complete what they begun.²⁸⁸

Following his black portrayal of the present religious state of Germany, Rose turned sympathetically to the Reformers, who

indefensible as they are in many points, indulged in no such criminal dreams or intentions. They entertained, for example, the most reasonable belief as to the value and authority of the early Christian writers, as proofs and witnesses of the doctrines promulgated in their day. As the Romish church alleged in justification of her opinion the words of Scripture, and the authority of the ancient writers, the reformers, so far from denying the value of those writers, constantly (even in their symbolical writings) appeal to them in proof of the correctness of their own views.²⁸⁹

Rose admired the Lutheran Orthodoxy of theologians like Georg Calixtus (1586-1656)²⁹⁰, but thought that the rot had set in with Gottfried Wilhelm

²⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 28-29,

²⁸⁹Ibid. p. 29.

²⁹⁰See *ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

Leibniz (1646-1716) and Christian Wolff²⁹¹ (1670-1754) and had been taken further by Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694-1768) and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781). The chief villain of the story, however, had been Johann Salomo Semler (1725-1791), whom Rose deemed to be the 'father of Neology'. Semler was the first who

taught the German divines to reject the divine origin of Scripture, and its universal obligation, to think and to speak lightly of a large portion of what at least is received by every Christian church as Christian doctrine, and to produce without hesitation and without awe, theories which involve charges of the most serious nature against the moral character of the Founder, and the first teachers of our religion. And these lessons have not been lost – the evil seed which he committed to the earth produced an hundred-fold – the harvest time has come – and even the sower would have contemplated with surprize and horror the evil and poisonous crop which has sprung from the seed he planted ... There is a daringness of disbelief, a wantonness of blasphemy to be found in them, which in a professed unbeliever we should expect and understand; but when we turn from the works where it is found, to the page which records the name and situation of the writers, when we find that they not only still number themselves among the followers of the Saviour of the world, but that to many of them is entrusted that solemn charge of educating the younger brethren, and to almost all is committed that still more solemn charge of feeding and watching over Christ's flock on earth, there would be no consolation for the Christian heart, were it not intimately persuaded that God has some great end in view, some great lesson to teach, in allowing so dreadful a pest to infest this portion of his vineyard, and to threaten the destruction of all that is dear, sacred and holy.²⁹²

Semler's main offence to orthodox Christianity Rose saw in his alleged invention of the famous theory of Accommodation, according to which biblical statements concerning nature and anthropomorphisms are not to be understood in their literal meaning. They rather represent, as Hornig has put it,

²⁹¹See *ibid*, pp. 41-42.

²⁹²*Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

eine bewußte oder unbewußte Anpassung der biblischen Autoren an den begrenzten Erkenntnisstand ihrer damaligen Zuhörer und Leser dar. Sie sind somit zeitgeschichtlich bedingt und für die gegenwärtige Lehre und Predigt in ihrer wörtlichen Bedeutung nicht mehr verbindlich. Durch solche Relativierung von Schriftaussagen suchte man das Auseinanderfallen von Theologie und Naturwissenschaft, Schriftautorität und kopernikanischer Erkenntnis zu verhindern.²⁹³

With the theory of Accommodation, Rose pointed out, Semler had passed on to his followers the “most formidable weapon ever devised for the destruction of Christianity”

Whatever men were disinclined to receive in the New Testament, and yet could not with decency reject while they called themselves Christians, and retained the Scripture, they got rid of by this theory, and quietly maintained that the apostles, and in fact Jesus himself, had adapted himself, not only in his way of teaching, but also in his doctrines to the barbarism, ignorance, and prejudices of the Jews, and that it was therefore our duty to reject the whole of this temporary part of Christianity, and retain only what is substantial and eternal. Every notion not suitable to existing opinions was therefore treated as mere adaptations to former ones – every thing for example mysterious and difficult, the very notion indeed that Christianity was a revelation from Heaven, was said to be merely a wise condescension to the weakness of former ages and nothing at last was left but what common experience and natural religion suggested.²⁹⁴

Rose was no less critical of Semler’s contributions to the criticism of the biblical canon.

²⁹³Hornig, *Lehre*, p. 95. [a conscious or unconscious adaption of the biblical authors to the limited state of knowledge of their listeners or readers of that time . They are therefore tied to contemporary history and are not any longer binding in their literal meaning for doctrine and homiletics. By taking biblical statements in relative terms one tried to prevent the separation of theology from science, scriptural authority and Copernican cosmology].

²⁹⁴Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, pp. 47-48.

He laid down the usual base, that canonical books must be of divine authority, but their divinity was to be established on a new and most dangerous principle. The mark of a divine origin was to be the utility of the work, or its tendency to promote virtue. I pass over the insufficiency of the proof to establish the divine origin of a writing. I acknowledge its sufficiency to disprove such an origin, supposing the existence of a competent judge. But who, or what is the judge, in this case? The decision is obviously left to human caprice, which in compliance with the altered notions of a different period, or a fashionable philosophy, may in this age reject, what in the last it received. And who will be content to leave to such an arbiter the power of pronouncing a character of writings which may come from God, on which salvation may depend, and the real nature of which we have the power of ascertaining by legitimate evidence? Yet in this way did Semler venture to judge of the Sacred Writings, and to eject from the canon, without hesitation, those which did not meet his approbation.²⁹⁵

Rose was also profoundly critical of the Union of Lutherans and Calvinists in the Prussian State church in 1817, as a matter of political expediency at the expense of theological conviction illustrating the illegitimate authority of the state over the Church (oddly, in agreement here with Schleiermacher²⁹⁶):

There is also another fact which appears to indicate this indifference in no inconsiderable degree; namely, the singular union which has lately taken place between the Calvinistic and Lutheran denominations. However desirable unity may be (and, assuredly, it is one of the first blessings which a church can enjoy) it is too dearly bought, if bought at the expence of any essential principle of faith. Now in the case mentioned, no article of belief indeed was sacrificed on either side, because the principle of union was, that there should be no discussion of points of faith. The union consists merely in a community of churches and of ministers, and an indiscriminate reception of the sacraments at the hands of these ministers. But when we remember how very essentially these two professions of faith vary, it must be evident,

²⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 50-51.

²⁹⁶On the Union see Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 209-216.

that such an union can only have been effected by an entire indifference on each side to the peculiar tenets of its founder.²⁹⁷

Rose's critique of the state of contemporary German Christianity includes attacks upon Reimarus, Old Testament criticism, Rationalism and miracles and the concept of myth. He gives examples of the German view of these matters with quotations which are often taken from their context, but they are all chosen to establish the evidence for his major concluding polemic against Rationalism for wanting to destroy all the positive doctrines of Christianity.

I shall conclude with a remark on the main point which we have been considering to-day, the notion on which the whole of this system rests, namely that all the positive and peculiar doctrines of Christianity are merely temporary in their nature and intention, mere accommodations and compliances with the feelings, hopes and notions of the people to whom they were addressed.²⁹⁸

With his university sermons on the state of the Evangelical churches in Germany, Rose represented a new stage in the continuing High Church disassociation from Continental non-episcopal Protestantism, and brought it to public attention with some uncompromising conclusions:

If this be protestantism, if it be protestantism to doubt of every sacred truth, or at least to receive none with confidence, may that gracious Providence which has ever yet preserved the church of England, preserve her still from the curse of protestantism; may it teach her that he who has given her Scripture as a guide, has given her also the power of understanding the truth it contains, that she has not been in past times, that she is not now left to wander in uncertainty and error, but possesses a light which will guide her to truth and to peace.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, pp. 91-92.

²⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 85.

²⁹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 24.

Even though the isolation from theological developments on the Continent seems to have been a general trend in the Church of England at the threshold of the nineteenth century and was at first glance not confined to particular church parties, Rose's violent public crusade against the state of Protestant Germany illustrates not only aspects of the complex nature of Anglo-German relations at that time but exposes a new quality in the theological self-understanding of Anglican High Churchmanship. Rose's outspoken rejection of the Evangelical Churches in Germany was in the last analysis formed by the ecclesiological agenda of his particular High Church party identity, quite as much, by strange comparison, as Rose's fellow students at Trinity College, Thirlwall and Hare, drew on their early-Broad Church framework in their opposing and ardent enthusiasm for the same theological concepts from Germany against which Rose crusaded in the pulpit of St. Mary the Great in Cambridge.

Finally, Rose's High Church apparatus of argumentation is in many respects evidence of Nockles's theory of the impact of Anglican High Churchmanship before 1833 on the formation of the theological mind of the Oxford Movement. Although Rose's attitude towards Protestantism did yet not reach the extreme of Tractarian principle, the rigid quality of the *Discourses* as well as of the controversy which was aroused by their publication basically prefigured the polemic of the new High Church school that was to rise in Oxford after 1833.

Oddly enough, Rose's partial repudiation of Protestantism as the 'Mother of Rationalism' had much in common with the German crusade against Rationalism in the interests of preserving Protestantism. The Oxford Movement would, of course, go much further than Rose in repudiating

Protestantism altogether, in the name of its rejection of the state control of the Church and its reassertion of the apostolic authority of the bishop which was so dear to Rose, but it is noteworthy, to say the least, that the origins of Rose's reaction to German Protestantism can be paralleled among German conservative Protestants themselves in their repudiation of Enlightenment religion.

2.5.2 Rose's German War

It is not unlikely that the whole incident would have soon fallen into oblivion as a passing academic quarrel if Rose's views had been confined to a British readership. Indeed, it was only when the *Discourses* were translated into German that the debate turned into an ecclesiastical affair on an international scale. The actual release of the translation during the great spring book fair at Leipzig in 1826, *Der Zustand der protestantischen Religion in Teuschland; in vier Reden, gehalten an der Universität zu Cambridge von Hugh James Rose, M.A. von Trinity College* came as a real bomb-shell to the German religious public.

Although the translation of Rose's *Discourses* appeared anonymous, soon rumours increasingly connected one name with the undertaking, that of Rosenmüller. The *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, a supplement to the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*, stated on 15 December 1826 that the translation was done by "Herr Prediger Rosenmüller".³⁰⁰ With the notice of Leipzig as the place of publication at the end of the translator's preface Rose himself saw it within the realms of possibility that the suspected "Preacher Rosemüller"³⁰¹ was the celebrated orientalist and pioneer in Old Testament criticism, Ernst Friedrich Karl Rosenmüller (1768-1835).³⁰² Be that as it was, the *Eclectic Review* described the German translation as the work of "a person of ability, and not slightly informed on the subjects

³⁰⁰[Preacher Rosenmüller]. See, Rose, *Appendix*, p. 15.

³⁰¹Rose himself in referring to that article believed the translator to be that preacher. See Hugh James Rose, *Appendix*, p. 16.

³⁰²On Ernst Friedrich Karl Rosenmüller see *RGG* 3, vol. 5 (1961), col. 1186.

which he was laying before his countrymen."³⁰³ Moreover, the arrangements of the editorial notes which were added to the German version of Rose's sermons indicated that the translator must have communicated with at least three other scholars on his subject, since some of those notes were distinguished by signatures different from his own.³⁰⁴

Rose's translator did not content himself with a mere translation of the *Discourses*. On the contrary, the preface and the extensive additional notes showed him rather as the first serious German critic of Rose's work.

Wir liefern hier die Uebersetzung eines Buchs, welches schwere Anklagen gegen die teutschen Theologen und gegen die protestantische Kirche in Teutschland enthält, die, wären sie gegründet, jeden Teutschen tief betrüben müßten. Vor einer berühmten Universität Englands, vor dem ganzen britischen Publiko, klagt der Verfasser die protestantischen Theologen an, daß sie der christlichen Lehre theils untreu worden seyn, theils dieselbe entstellt haben, beschuldigt sie rationalistischer Grundsätze, welche in den Augen des Verfassers nicht viel weniger sagen als atheistische Lehren und fällt mit einem Eifer über die gelehrtesten, besonnensten und redlichsten Männer unsers teutschen Vaterlandes her, welcher bisweilen Lachen erregen könnte, wenn es nicht eine so hochwichtige Sache beträfe, als es die christliche Religion ist.³⁰⁵

³⁰³*Eclectic Review*, vol. 28 (1827), p. 20.

³⁰⁴See, for instance, Rose, *Zustand*, pp. 154, 157, 158, 173.

³⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p. iii. [*Eclectic Review* vol. 28 (1827), pp. 20-21: We here present the translation of a book, which contains heavy complaints against the German divines and against the Protestant Church in Germany, which, if they were well founded, could not but occasion deep grief to every German. Before a celebrated English University, before the whole British public, this Author accuses Protestant divines, in part of infidelity towards the Christian religion, and in part of perverting and deforming it; he accuses them of rationalist principles, which, in his eyes, are not much better than atheism; and he attacks the most learned, judicious, and upright men of our country, with an ardency which might sometimes provoke a laugh, if it did not refer to a subject of such high importance as the Christian religion.].

Moreover, the translator stressed that it took him a great deal of trouble to undertake this particular project, partly because of the style of the author, who, as he complained, "sehr lange Perioden liebt, nicht immer die Begriffe bestimmt und deutlich auffaßt und sie in wenig Worten wiederzugeben weiß"³⁰⁶; partly because of the highly offensive nature of the work itself.

Yet the undertaking of the translation shows that Rose's shot from the pulpit was on the whole taken seriously as an attack to the reputation of German Protestantism. Unlike the Catholic Hohenegger³⁰⁷, whose judgement was open to the objection of being coloured by denominational polemic, Rose's outspoken views carried all the more weight; not only was he a student from abroad taking the floor, with the credit of dealing with the subject with a far greater 'objective' detachment than any German, he was also a representative of a thoroughly respectable branch of the wider entity of Protestantism – after all, German Lutherans and English Anglicans were despite their rather complicated relations still something of "ecclesiastical cousins, if not brethren"³⁰⁸.

Die Absicht, warum wir eine Uebersetzung von diesem Buche liefern ... war, die protestantischen Theologen auf die Menge von Beschuldigungen aufmerksam zu machen, welche ihnen ein engl. Theolog vor einer zahlreichen Universität macht, und diejenigen, welche mit Geübtheit im Denken und Gewandtheit im Schreiben eine große Kenntniss der Sprachen überhaupt, verbinden und mit dem Geiste unserer theologischen Literatur genau bekannt sind, zu einer Darstellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der protestantischen Religion, der strengsten Wahrheit gemäß, zu

³⁰⁶Ibid., p. v, [Trans. in *ibid.*, p. 21: "is fond of very long periods, and does not always appear to have clear ideas, or intelligibly to express them, or know how to repeat them in few words".].

³⁰⁷See chapter 1.1

³⁰⁸Robbins, *Germany*, p. 6.

veranlassen und die leichtsinnigen oder unwissenden Ankläger unserer Theologen und Philosophen zum Schweigen oder wenigstens zur Besinnung zu bringen. An ihren Früchten soll man die Lehren erkennen und wer möchte wohl in dieser Hinsicht das teutsche Volk mit dem englischen auf eine gleiche Stufenleiter stellen, obschon dieses durch eine freie Verfassung viel mehr Aufmunterung zur Ausbildung des Geistes und zu einem vernünftigen und guten Lebenswandel hat?³⁰⁹

As far as the linguistic quality of the German edition of Rose's *Discourses* is concerned, the translator himself thought it important to affirm that his own critical opinion and personal hurt over Rose's "gehäßigen Anklagen"³¹⁰ did not interfere with the objectivity of his account of the work, but that he was anxious to follow the original version to the letter.³¹¹ Indeed, the comparison of both works shows that the translator largely complied with his intention, divergences or errors in translation staying within the limits.

One of the first German references to Rose's sweeping account can be found in a supplement to the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* of 25 January

³⁰⁹Rose, *Zustand*, pp. v-vi. [*Eclectic Review* vol. 28 (1827), pp. 21-22: The design, in giving to the public a translation of this book ... is to awaken the attention of Protestant divines to the mass of accusations which an English divine has brought against them before the numerous members of his University; and thus to induce some of them, who, to habits of reflection and ability in writing, unite a solid acquaintance with the languages of the Old and New Testament, and with ancient languages generally, and who likewise are accurately acquainted with the spirit of our theological literature, that they may bring forwards, according to the strictest truth, an exhibition of the present state of the Protestant religion, and may put to silence the frivolous or ignorant accusers of our divines and philosophers, or at least give them some matter for reflection. Doctrines are known by their fruits: and who, in this respect, would place the German nation at the same point of the scale as the English, though the latter, from the freedom of its political constitution, possesses much more encouragement to the improvement of the mind, and to a rational and excellent course of conduct?].

³¹⁰Ibid., p. vii. [spiteful indictments].

³¹¹Rose, op. cit, p. vii.

1826. Founded by the Hessian Hofprediger and Prälat Ernst Zimmermann (1786-1832)³¹², the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* was the main organ of contemporary Rationalism. In a *Brief von London*³¹³ it says:

Ein englischer Geistlicher, Hugh Rose, der als Philolog und Sammler Teuschland durchreiste, hat etliche auf der Universiät Cambridge gehaltene Predigten über den Zustand der protestantischen Kirche in Teuschland drucken lassen, mit vielen Noten ausgestattet, worin er die Rationalisten in Heidelberg, Berlin Göttingen, Weimar !! zum Scandal unserer orthodoxen Churchmen bekannt macht ... Es leidet keinen Zweifel, daß die geisttödende Formularwesen der engl. bischöflichen Liturgie, der Leichtsinn, womit ohne alle strenge Prüfung jeder, der nur die äußern Mittel dazu hat, eine gute Pfarrpfründe erhalten kann, die absolute Vernachlässigung der Universitätsbildung zum geistlichen Stande auf den Universitäten Oxford und Cambridge - wiewohl die letztere alles viel genauer nimmt und überall freisinniger ist -, der pedantische Sonntagszwang und das verfassungsgemäßige Erstarren der in den alten Formen bei den 39 Artikeln den Riß zwischen den Dissenters und der hohen Kirche täglich größer macht und die Kapellen der das Herz erwärmenden Anhänger von Wesley und der in hundert Missions- und Bibelanstalten unermüdeten Methodisten anfüllt, während die bischöflichen Kirchen nur mit Widerwillen und aus Gewohnheit besucht werden.³¹⁴

³¹²On Ernst Zimmermann see RGG 3, vol. 6 (1962), col. 1911.

³¹³[letter from London].

³¹⁴*Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*. Supplement to No. 25 (25 January 1826). Cited in Rose, *Zustand*, pp. viii-x. [*Eclectic Review*, vol. 28 (1827), p. 22, "An English Clergyman, Hugh Rose, who has travelled in Germany as a scholar and a collector, has published some sermons, preached before the University of Cambridge, on the state of the Protestant Church in Germany, and furnished with numerous Notes in which he describes the Rationalists of Heidelberg, Berlin, Gottingen, and Weimar, to the great alarm and offence of our orthodox churchmen ... It cannot admit of a doubt, that the deadening formalism of the English Episcopal Liturgy; the lightmindedness with which any man, who has but the external means, may without any very strict examination, get a good church-living; the entire neglect of a course of education adapted to the clerical order, in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (though the latter possesses the merit of a stricter system and a more liberal spirit); the affection of Sunday-constraint; and the constitutional torpidness which wraps itself in the old forms and the 39 Articles; are making the separation between the Dissenters and the High Church wider every day, and filling the chapels of the heart-warming followers of Wesley and the indefatigable Methodists

It was quite ironic that opposition to such a slating review of the conditions within the Church of England should proceed from John Pye Smith, one of those Nonconformists whose positive contributions the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* had so ostentatiously highlighted. In his review of Rose's *Discourses* for the *Eclectic Review*, Smith dismissed the German portrayal of the deplorable state of affairs within the Church of England in no uncertain terms:

If the flippant writer of this letter had taken such pains of investigation as Germans generally employ, he would not have crowded so many blunders together as he has here done ... Dissenters as we are, we rejoice to tell the men in Germany, if any of them ever look into our pages, that the Church of England was never adorned with a larger number of pious, popular, and useful ministers than she is at this moment; that her assemblies, where such clergymen officiate, never were more, nor perhaps equally crowded; that never has her liturgy been held in higher honour, not from ignorant superstition, but from the increase of truly devout and intelligent worshippers in her communion; and that all this is without any invasion of the liberties, or subtraction from the usefulness of Dissenters and Methodists.³¹⁵

Rose, in return, showed himself extremely bewildered and shocked by the violence with which the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* had reacted against his work; for as he bitterly protested: "Never has it been my ill-fortune, to see a religious journal in this country, belonging to any class or sect, conducted with such vulgar virulence as this accredited journal of the Rationalists."³¹⁶ Even though Rose's *Discourses* themselves were not exactly a masterpiece of ecclesiastical diplomacy, the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* had clearly gone beyond the mark of - even journalistic -

with their hundreds of Missionary and Bible Societies: while the Episcopal churches are attended with reluctance and merely out of custom."

³¹⁵*Eclectic Review*, vol. 28 (1827), p. 22.

³¹⁶Rose, *Appendix*, p. 22.

good form. Not only were the *Discourses* bluntly disparaged as the "Zetergeschrei eines anglikanischen Zionswächters"³¹⁷ and their author recommended for the next vacant position of grand-inquisitor³¹⁸ but the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* combined its slating review of Rose with cutting mockery of the Church of England herself, caricaturing her dignitaries and bishops as former captains in the navy, grooms of the king's bed-chambers and actors.³¹⁹

With its defamatory outburst against the Church of England, the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung* marked a low point in this affair but it was not alone. The overall German opinion of Rose was deeply imbued with distinctly anti-Anglican feelings; even serious critics, such as von Ammon and Bretschneider, were not adverse to making some rather blunt side-swipes against the Church of England. "Wir würden kaum Ursache haben, dieser unbedeutenden Schrift zu gedenken", as von Ammon turned the tables in the *Unveränderliche Einheit*,

wenn ihr Verfasser nicht als das Organ des dogmatischen Buchstabensystems sich vernehmen ließe, welches die englische Episkopalkirche in starre Formen eingezwängt und sie aus der freien Gemuethswelt, in der sie walten und wirken sollte, in das Gebiet des Staates herabgedrückt hätte. Die lauten Klagen, daß sie in den Kämpfen mit den Dissenters und namentlich mit den Methodisten sich nur durch äußere Macht erhalte und überall mehr kirchliche Legalitaet, als wahrhaft religiösen Sinn und Geist nähre, haben nicht in den 39 Artikeln, die ganz nach unseren Symbolen gebildet sind, sondern in der Verwechslung der Kirche mit dem Staate, in der drückenden Aristokratie des höheren Clerus, und namentlich darinnen ihren Grund, daß die Mitglieder dieser Kirche mehr Philologen, Historiker und Schriftgelehrte, als Religionsphilosophen, forschende Beobachter der moralischen

³¹⁷[*Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*. Supplement to No. 25 (25 January 1826), [scolding of an Anglican guardian of Zion].

³¹⁸See *ibid*.

³¹⁹See *ibid*.

Weltordnung und christliche Weise sind, die das lebendige Gotteswort von dem toten Buchstaben zu unterscheiden wissen. Was würden unsere deutschen Gemeinden sagen, wenn ihre Prediger ihnen sonntäglich moralische Diatriben, exegetisch-kritische Abhandlungen, Citaten aus Aristoteles und Maximus von Thyrus, oder langweilige dogmatische Dissertationen vorläsen, wie man sie bei Tillotson und anderen ihrer gefeiertesten Redner findet!³²⁰

Von Ammon is generally regarded as a representative of the so-called *Rationale Supranaturalisten*³²¹ or *Offenbarungs-Rationalisten*³²², a party which within the limits of Rationalism and Supernaturalism took up a mediating position. For the Rational Supernaturalists too, Christianity was a rational religion; “lediglich seinen Ursprung hielten sie für eine Tat der göttlichen unmittelbaren Offenbarung und verstanden sie als einen Akt der göttlichen Erziehung”³²³. Leading Rational Supernaturalists, or

³²⁰*Unveränderliche Einheit*, vol. 1 (1826), p. 53. [We hardly had reason to acknowledge this insignificant writing had its author not proved to be the organ of the dogmatical system of the letter which constrains the English episcopal church in rigid forms and which lowered her from a free world of mind, in which she should be at work, to the area of the state. Those loud complaints that in the fights with the Dissenters and particularly with the Methodists she only maintains through the support of external power and that she everywhere relies more on ecclesiastical legality than a truly religious sense and spirit, have their reason not in the 39 articles, which are entirely composed according to our symbols, but in the confusion of the church with the state, in the oppressive aristocracy within the higher clergy and in the fact that her members are more philologists, historians and scribes than philosophers of religion and searching observers of the moral order of the universe and Christian wise man who understand how to distinguish the living Word of God from the dead letter. What would our German parishes say if their preachers read to them on a Sunday moral lectures, exegetical critical essays, quotations from Aristotle and Maximus of Thyrus or boring dogmatic dissertations, as one finds them, by Tillotson and their other most celebrated orators.].

³²¹[Rational Supernaturalists].

[³²²Revelation Rationalists].

³²³*RGG* 3, vol. 5 (1961), col. 797. [only its origin they considered as a deed of divine immediate revelation and understood it as an act of divine education].

“Rationalisten vom halben Wege”³²⁴, as Hirsch referred to this school³²⁵, were, apart from von Ammon, Bretschneider, Stäudlin, Gottlieb Jakob Planck³²⁶ (1751-1833), Heinrich Gottlieb Tzschirner³²⁷ (1778-1828) and Ernst Gottlieb Bengel³²⁸ (1769-1826). Whatever von Ammon’s religious convictions may have been, in the *Unveränderliche Einheit* he strongly reproached Rose for his distorted portrayal of contemporary German theology which failed entirely to acknowledge the distinct Supernaturalist opposition to Rationalist extremism.

Hätte der Verfasser, wie es Weisheit, Recht und Billigkeit forderten, den Zustand der Religiösität in Deutschland genau und gründlich beobachtet, ehe er hierüber abzusprechen wagte; so würde er gefunden haben, daß der Grundsatz der Rationalisten, es sei die menschliche Vernunft nicht allein das formelle, sondern auch materielle Prinzip der christlichen Religionserkenntnis, zwar oft genug ausgesprochen, aber von den Supernaturalisten immer zurück gewiesen und als zerstörend für das geoffenbarte Christentum betrachtet worden ist.³²⁹

As far as Rose’s call for a stricter censorship of theological literature was concerned, von Ammon was ready to admit that the prevailing liberal policy within the Evangelical Churches in Germany might at times have fostered the spread of ‘anti-christian’ thought, but those developments

³²⁴[halfway Rationalists].

³²⁵See Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5 p. 57.

³²⁶On Gottlieb Jakob Planck see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 57-59, *RGG* 3, vol. 5 (1961), cols 403-404.

³²⁷ On Heinrich Gottlieb Tzschirner see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 62-63, *RGG* 3, vol. 6 (1962), col. 1100.

³²⁸On Ernst Gottlieb Bengel see *RGG* 3, vol. 1 (1957), col. 1037.

³²⁹*Unveränderliche Einheit*, vol. 1 (1826), p. 47. [If the author had observed the state of religion in Germany accurately and carefully, as wisdom, justice and fairness called for, before he ventured to raise his voice, he would have found that the principle of the Rationalists, that human reason is not only the formal but also the material principle of the Christian knowledge of religion, has been maintained often enough but has always been dismissed by the Supernaturalists and regarded as destructive of revealed Christianity.].

were only of peripheral importance compared with the greater good of Christian liberty:

Aber zu viel Freiheit ist im Reiche des Glaubens immer besser, als zu wenig; man darf auch die Grundsätze der evangelischen Geistlichkeit keineswegs nach den Äußerungen der Journalisten und Schriftsteller beurtheilen; die Mehrzahl achtungswürdiger Prediger lebt ihrem Berufe im Stillen und sieht dem Wechsel flüchtiger Meinungen mit Ruhe und Gelassenheit zu.³³⁰

Another German critic of Rose was Bretschneider. A native of the Erzgebirge in Saxony, he had studied in Leipzig and was the best-known *Rationalist vom halben Wege*. In 1804, he submitted his Habilitationsschrift in Wittenberg. Yet despite his brilliant academic abilities, Bretschneider decided to pursue an ecclesiastical career and at the time of Rose's attack, was *Generalsuperintendent* of Gotha. He is best known in German theology for his edition of Melancthon's works in the *Corpus Reformatorum*.

Bretschneider's *Apologie der neueren Theologie des evangelischen Deutschlands gegen ihren neuesten Ankläger*, published in the same year as the German translation of the *Discourses*, is by far the most detailed German reply to Rose's assaults. Yet right from the beginning, Bretschneider showed himself unworried by the impact Rose's sermons might have on the British reception of contemporary Protestant Germany:

Was kümmert es uns Deutsche, was ein von Vorurtheilen vollgestopfter Engländer, über uns schief und halb gesehen hat,

³³⁰Ibid., p. 48. [But too much freedom is always better within the realms of faith than too little; moreover one should by no means judge the principles of the Evangelical clergy according to journalists and writers; the majority of respectable preachers hold their office quietly and watch with composure the change of fleeting opinions.].

oder was er entweder absichtlich entstellt oder aus Schwachheit mißversteht? Wir gewähren es ihm, sich, seinen Herrn Kollegen zu Cambridge und seinen hohen Obern so viele Complimente auf unsre Kosten zu machen, als er Lust hat, und gönnen ihm die englische Freude, seinen Freunden den schon im Voraus von ihnen anerkannten Satz zu beweisen, daß es keine vollkommneres Land gibt als England, und keine vortrefflichere Kirche als die hohe Episkopalkirche mit ihren 39 Artikeln und ihrer langweiligen Liturgie.³³¹

It was above all the German translator who received short shrift. Rose's work would have never required any special attention among the Germans if the sermons had remained in England:

Da aber die fertige Hand eines deutschen Uebersetzers diese Schmähschrift auf unsern Boden verpflanzt hat, und sie durch den Buchhandel bei uns in alle Gauen Deutschlands und in alle Stände ausgestreut wird, so bekommt sie den Charakter einer gefährlichen Denunciation, welche zwar keinen Kundigen, aber doch manchen Unkundigen verwirren kann, besonders da es unter den Deutschen immer noch so viele Tropfe gibt, welche Fabrikwaren und Urtheile der Ausländer den inländischen vorziehen, und alles schon deswegen vortrefflich finden, weil es über den Kanal oder die Nordsee herübergekommen ist. Wir können uns daher nicht überzeugen, daß der uns unbekannte Übersetzer dieser Schmähschrift recht gethan habe, sie in Deutschland bekannt zu machen, sondern sich sind der Meinung, er habe sich einer fremden Sünde theilhaftig gemacht.³³²

³³¹Bretschneider, *Apologie*, p. 4. [Bretschneider, *Reply*, pp. 1-2: Abstractly speaking, it is of little consequence to us Germans, whether an Englishman strongly prejudiced, should have viewed us imperfectly or unfairly, or should through wilfulness misrepresent, or from weakness misconceive us. We allow him to compliment as much as he pleases, at our expense, his colleagues and superiors at Cambridge, and we do not envy him that English satisfaction of demonstrating to his friends, the proposition already admitted by them, that there is no country more perfect than England, nor any Church more admirable than the High Episcopalian one, with its thirty-nine articles and tedious Liturgy.].

³³²Ibid., pp. 4-5. [Trans.: *ibid.*, p. 2: But as the busy hand of a German translator has transplanted this libel into our own soil, and by means of the press it is circulated throughout every quarter of Germany, it thereby acquires a dangerous character, which though it cannot mislead the informed, may deceive the unwary; particularly as there are many weak individuals in our community who prefer the manufactures and opinions of

The Bretschneider's *Apologie* is quite a remarkable document for the contemporary German reception not only of the Church of England but also of the English as a people. Even if one takes into account that the strong polemic of Bretschneider and the other Germans critic, was partly born in the heat of the moment, it shows clearly that among German Protestants the overall understanding of religious life in England was just as prejudiced and mixed up with national stereotypes as the other way round. What is quite surprising from a modern viewpoint, is the persistence of some of those stereotypes through the ages:

Herrn Rose aber verzeihen wir, als einem Engländer, seine unbesonnenen Verunglimpfungen so vieler achtungswerther Männer, und eines ganzen achtbaren Standes. Der Engländer hält leicht die Form für das Wesen der Sache, und bildet sich ein, die Sache gehe unter, wenn sich die Form verändert. Ein rechter Engländer würde glauben, die Justiz müßte zu grunde gehen, wenn nicht Richter und Advokaten in den steifen Röcken, Mänteln und in den großen Allongeperuquen der Vorzeit in dem Gerichtssaal erschienen, obgleich kein Mensch sich mehr auf so geschmacklose Art kleide; er würde glauben, die Verfassung seines Landes gehe zu grunde, wenn nicht der Lord Kanzler im Parlamente auf einem Wollsack säße. So denkt Herr Rose auch, die Religion müsse zu grunde gehen, wenn die Theologie das steife Gewand symbolischer Lehrformeln ablege, oder die Liturgie nicht mehr in der Sprache des 16ten Jahrhunderts rede. So verkündigt er den Zusammensturz der Kirche, wenn die Lehrer derselben lieber auf den Stühlen der Apostel als auf den Kathedern der Theologen des 16 jahrhunderts sitzen wollen. Immer hat die menschliche Schwachheit ihre Vorstellung von der Religion mit der Religion selbst verwechselt und den Untergang der Religion prophezeit, wenn sich die subjective Vorstellung davon änderte.³³³

foreigners to our own, and consider every thing good merely because it comes to us across the Channel or the North Sea. It is on this account that we do not feel satisfied that the anonymous translator of this calumny has acted correctly in disseminating it throughout Germany, but are rather inclined to think, that he is likewise to blame.].

³³³Ibid., pp. 64-65. [Trans., *ibid.*, pp. 43-44: Mr. Rose, as an Englishman, we pardon in his indiscriminate censure of so many estimable men.

Bretschneider's Apologie saw two translations into English. The first one³³⁴ was undertaken in 1827 by one Rev. William Alleyn Evanson, whom Rose subsequently acknowledged

for the handsome manner in which he has spoken of me. I trust that his translation will be generally read by those who have any interest in the question. The weakness and palpable sophistry displayed in it on the one hand, and the irritation and want of common decency on the other, are the strongest arguments I could desire in favour of my statements.³³⁵

Evanson deplored with Rose the Rationalistic developments in German theology but his overall view of the current state of affairs was altogether more sympathetic. "A better order of things", as he maintained,

has commenced, and is in active progress in Germany; that the religion of Luther is again becoming the religion of Lutherans; that the doctrines of the fall, original sin, atonement by the death of Christ, justification by his righteousness, and sanctification by his spirit, - are again becoming the doctrines taught from the pulpits

Without considering the subject, he has mistaken the form for the essence, imagining the latter lost when the former changes. Imbued with the prejudices of his education, he fancies justice ceases to exist when judges and barristers no longer appear in the courts of law, decked out in the gowns and wigs of former times. The constitution itself would seem subverted, if the Chancellor were no longer to sit in Parliament upon a wool-sack; and in like manner, Religion would appear to Mr. Rose annihilated, were Theology to lay aside the stiff covering of symbolical formulae, or the Liturgy were no longer to be couched in the diction of the sixteenth century. He proclaims the overthrow of the Church, because its teachers prefer sitting on the Apostles' stools, rather than on the chairs of the Theologians of the sixteenth century. The weakness of mankind has always confounded its own views of Religion with Religion itself, predicting subversion when the outward form has changed.].

³³⁴Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider, *Apology for the Modern Theology of Protestant Germany, or a Review of the Work entitled 'The State of the Protestant Religion in Germany, in a Series of discourses preached before the University of Cambridge by the Rev Hugh James Rose, M.A of Trinity College and vicar of Horsham, Sussex*, trans. William Alleyn Evanson (London: Ebenezer Palmer, 1827).

³³⁵Rose, *Appendix*, p. 40.

and professors' chairs once occupied by the glorious Reformers of the sixteenth century.³³⁶

The second translation was published anonymously by a 'layman of the Church of England' in 1828. It is evident from the preface that the second translator had not been aware of Evanson's work, since he tackled his undertaking for the sake of "common fairness" on the assumption that two years after the appearance of Rose's work the English public still had not had the opportunity of reading Bretschneider's reply.³³⁷ Although the translator specifically emphasised that he himself was far from having any expectation to see the present system of theology in Germany make converts elsewhere, he by the same token took up gently the cudgels for a positive significance of the reception of German biblical scholarship, stating that precisely that critical direction "lately given to Theological inquiries in that country will be generally advantageous to Christianity, in elucidating much in biblical history which is obscure, and in reforming some things which time has corrupted."³³⁸

It is not within the scope of this thesis to provide a discussion of the controversy between Rose and Pusey, which has been done already by Liddon³³⁹, Mehlis³⁴⁰ and more recently Forrester³⁴¹ and Albrecht Geck³⁴².

³³⁶Cited in *Eclectic Review*, vol. 29 (1828), p. 189.

³³⁷See Bretschneider, *Reply*, pp. iii-iv.

³³⁸*Ibid.*, p. vii

³³⁹See Liddon, *Pusey*, vol. 1, pp. 70-114, 146-177.

³⁴⁰See Mehlis, *Thesis*.

³⁴¹See D. W. F. Forrester, *The Early Intellectual Development of E. B. Pusey, 1800-1850* (doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1967), Forrester, *Pusey*, pp. 32-50, 211-231.

³⁴²See Albrecht Geck, 'The Concept of History in E. B. Pusey's First Enquiry into German Theology and its German Background, in *JTS*, vol. 38 (1987), pp. 387-408. See also H. C. G. Matthew, 'Edward Bouverie

It does, however, need to be said here that in his *Enquiry* Pusey attempted to reconstruct Rose's history of German theology in order to place it in a more positive light. Pusey was the disciple of the neo-orthodox Tholuck³⁴³, and as such, was no Rationalist himself and was highly critical of the state of theology in Germany and of the influence of Rationalism upon it. He had, however, a strong sense of the value of the Reformation, which he was never entirely to lose even as a Tractarian, and he thought that there was a narrow one-sidedness to Rose's account of the German Protestant tradition as he sought to place it in a modern context. As a truly historical critic, he saw the seeds of Rationalism in the deadness of late sixteenth and early seventeenth Orthodoxy³⁴⁴, and where Rose magnified the malign significance of Semler, Pusey emphasised the positive status and importance of Philipp Spener as the 'father of Pietism' and of a whole succession of theologians influenced by him. In Forrester's words: "The section of Pusey's *Enquiry* which is devoted to the Pietist movement at its height is the apex of the whole work, and probably that which he counts with the greatest fervour."³⁴⁵ Pusey stressed that under this influence, there was a much more valuable dimension even to the Enlightenment, and that there was a moral earnestness about even the biblical critics like Baumgarten and Michaelis which preserved them from the charge of being scoffers or libertines. In short, Pusey knew German Protestantism much better than Rose did, and it is deeply ironic that he later came to a view of it very similar to Rose's, to the extent of attempting to suppress the *Enquiry* by buying up any copies and destroying any which he came

Pusey: From Scholar to Tractarian', in *JTS*, vol. 32 (1981), pp. 101-124, R. William Franklin, *Impact*, pp. 433-448.

³⁴³On Tholuck's impact on Pusey's *Enquiry* see Lidon, *Pusey*, vol. 1, pp. 161-163.

³⁴⁴See Forrester, *Pusey*, pp. 214-215.

³⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 217.

across. That, however, was a consequence of his involvement in the Oxford Movement and the triumph of Rose's argument among Anglican Highchurchmen. In a revealing letter of March 1838, a year before Rose's death, Pusey wrote to his former opponent:

I thank you most truly for your kind words about our 'German war', which I too have long regretted; and the more, since, though I thought at the time your blows were the heavier, I (which at the time I did not think) commenced it. It had indeed not taken place, had we known each other then; but I thought you attached an undue weight to things external (as distinct from the inward life) of the Church, - of its Articles and its Liturgy. And myself did not sufficiently realize the blessing attending on our own Church, as distinct from other reformed bodies; nor had observed the Providence which has watched over her; nor the way in which (as distinct from any 'binding force') our primitive Liturgy must have supported the faith of many who, in the last century, were probably far from entering into its full meaning, but of themselves would have sunk far lower. I thought again that you laid too much stress on the 'binding force' of Creeds and Articles; and myself did not sufficiently appreciate the inward power of Creeds in moulding the mind, and keeping it from straying. Such, at least, is my impression, though it is now long since I have looked into what we wrote. But this is past and gone. The most grievous part, as you say, is that the work was but half done; and, what is for me the saddest, that I have been thought (though I protested against it in the second volume) to have been opposed to you, where I felt altogether with you, as to Rationalism itself. I thought we differed about the causes and extent of it, not, for a moment, as to its perniciousness and shallowness; and I feared people in England were verging towards [it] in a way which I thought you did not see. I feared lest cold dry views on the one hand, and especially a decayed Pietism on the other, might find their parallel among us, and bring in Rationalism here also. We ought to have been fighting side by side, instead of with each other; *you* against the impugnors of Church Discipline, Subscription, Authority, which, in those quiet days in Oxford, *I* did not even know of; *you* upholding Creeds, and *I*, opposing 'human systems' (as distinct from Creeds, and indeed, as I have since seen more distinctly, opposed to their very ἡθος). However, I trust that we were even then friends in heart. (I grieved at the time when I heard of your ill health, which the worry of this controversy must have aggravated.) And, since 'precious are the wounds of a friend', our mutual blows may have

done us each good; and any hastiness, I trust has been forgiven by Him Whom we both meant to serve.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁶Cited in Liddon, *Pusey*, vol. 1, pp. 176-177.

3. German Neo-Orthodoxy versus Rationalism

3.1 The complexity of the renewal of Protestantism in early nineteenth-century Romantic Germany: Schleiermacher and the German Idealists

According to Karl Barth (1886-1968), the nineteenth century started, at least from a Protestant theological viewpoint, in 1799 with the publication of Schleiermacher's *Reden über die Religion an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern*¹, addressed in the first instance to his secularized Romantic contemporaries.² Indeed, it is impossible to speak of modern Protestant theology without reference to the name of Schleiermacher as with good reason he is widely regarded as the 'church father' of nineteenth-century Protestantism.³ In view of the fundamental importance of his redefinition of theology, Hirsch has ranked Schleiermacher even among the "wenigen bahnbrechenden christlichen Denkern, denen über Jahrhunderte fortzuwirken bestimmt ist"⁴.

More so than other factors in that time of dramatic changes in the religious life in Germany, Schleiermacher's contribution to the emergence of a new understanding of religion helped to overcome the supremacy of both the

¹See Karl Barth, *Evangelische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert*, in *Theologische Studien*, 49 (1957), pp. 4-5. [On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers].

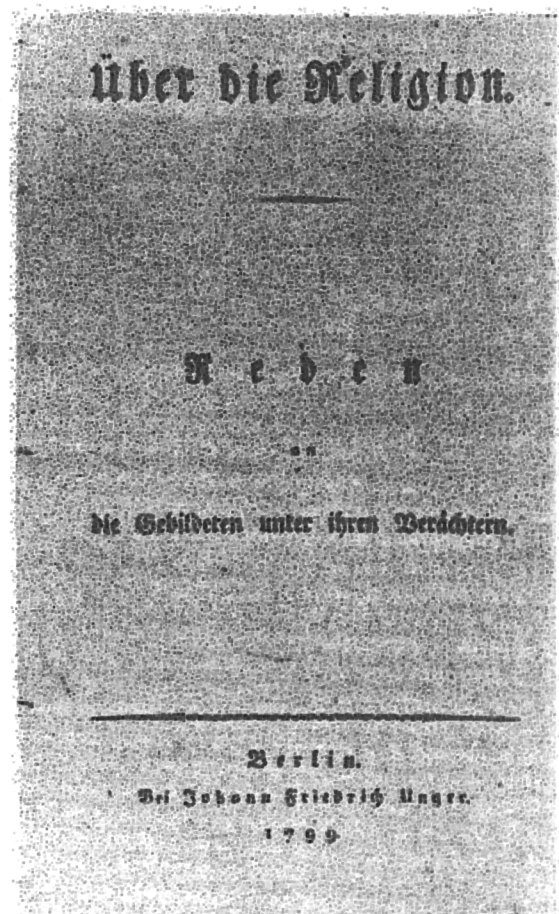
²For a discussion on Schleiermacher's *On Religion* see Martin Redeker, *Schleiermacher: Life and Thought*, trans. John Wallhausser (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1973), pp. 34-54.

³See Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 185.

⁴Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, p. 316. [the few pioneering Christian thinkers who are destined to continue to have an effect over centuries].



Friedrich Schleiermacher



Über die Religion

Enlightenment and theological Rationalism. Breathing the spirit of the early Romantic world view, marked by a vivid urge for individuality and a deep longing for the infinite, the *Reden über die Religion* is "apologetic theology of the clearest kind"⁵. Schleiermacher firmly refused to join in the *Abgesang* of religion which was heard in many quarters at the threshold of the nineteenth century: "In das Hilferufen der meisten über den Untergang der Religion stimme ich nicht ein"⁶. His optimistic view of a powerful revival of religion culminated in the conviction that Christianity "noch eine lange Geschichte haben trotz allem, was man sagt von seinem baldigen oder schon erfolgten Untergange"⁷.

Schleiermacher's interpretation of religion can be understood as a synthesis of idealistic philosophy and the Pietist tradition of *Herrenhut* in which he was brought up. Crucial to that interpretation is an emphasis on the independence of religion from both metaphysics and mere morality, a concentration instead on the religious life itself, namely the pious elevation of feeling. Since religion is feeling, it is distinguished from doing and knowing. It is "Anschauung und Gefühl"⁸, "Anschauung des Universums"⁹, "Sinn und Geschmack fürs Unendliche"¹⁰. In the face of the temptation to understand Schleiermacher's new understanding of religion as a sort of

⁵Paul Tillich, *Perspectives on 19th and 20th Century Protestant Theology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 95.

⁶Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Über die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1799), p. 23. [I do not join in the prophecy of doom of the decline of Protestantism.].

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 88. [will have a long history despite all that is said about its already speedy decline].

⁸[intuition and feeling].

⁹[intuition of the universe].

¹⁰[sense and taste for the infinite].

psychological account of the religious life, Martin Redeker has pointed out, that he, in fact,

rejected the 'wretched empiricism' of the psychology of religion. In his opinion the psychology of the Enlightenment had exhausted itself and had virtually become dishonored by its excesses. He wanted to find the spirit of religion, to distinguish the essential from the borrowed and alien, the holy from the profane. He can also frequently say that he wants to find the 'idea' of religion. However, he does not mean by 'idea' a concept arrived at by the abstraction but rather the essence, the center, that which makes religion religious.¹¹

Contrary to the long-lasting charge of pantheism against which Schleiermacher defended himself all his life, his approach should not be understood as a subjective consciousness-immanence. Rather, the difference and opposite relationship between God and humankind and human history is emphatically preserved. Paul Tillich (1886-1965) has summarised Schleiermacher's concept of religion as feeling as follows:

But 'feeling' in Schleiermacher should not really be understood as subjective emotion. Rather, it is the impact of the universe upon us in the depths of our being which transcends subject and object. It is obvious that he means it in this sense. Therefore, instead of speaking of feeling, he could also speak of intuition of the universe, and this intuition he could describe as divination. This term is derived, of course, from 'divine' and means awareness of the divine immediately ... At any rate, the best evidence that when Schleiermacher spoke of feeling he did not mean subjective emotion is the fact that in his systematic theology, in the *Christian Faith*, he uses the expression 'feeling of unconditional dependence'. In the moment that these words are combined, the feeling of unconditional dependence, the psychological realm has been transcended. For everything in our feeling, understood in the psychological sense, is conditioned. It is a continuous stream of feelings, emotions, thoughts, wills, experiences. On the other hand,

¹¹Redeker, *Schleiermacher*, p. 35.

the element of the unconditional, wherever it appears, is quite different from subjective feeling."¹²

If Schleiermacher's emphasis on the dimension of feeling as the basis of religion was a declaration of war on the prevailing rationalist schools, then a strong orthodox reaction against his new concept arose simultaneously, connected principally with the names of Hengstenberg and Tholuck who opposed Schleiermacher's 'heterodox' attitude towards dogmas and doctrinal systems. As Liddon rightly stressed, in around 1825, when Rose's *Discourses* were published and Pusey's first visit to Germany took place, Schleiermacher was "the most commanding figure in the religious world of Berlin, and indeed in Protestant Germany"¹³. Yet unlike Thirlwall and Hare, Rose's as well as Pusey's reception of Schleiermacher's theology is marked by a strong reservation, as both echoed almost in unison the usual suspicion of pantheist tendencies in Schleiermacher's system. Rose, on the one hand, had no inclination to belittle the "famous" Schleiermacher's outstanding intellectual force and acknowledged him as "one of the profoundest thinkers of modern times", and "almost the only divine in Germany, who is likewise a great scholar"¹⁴. By the same token, however, he made no secret of his fundamental difficulties with Schleiermacher's new concept of theology:

His great work, 'Der Christliche Glaube,' (Berl. 1822) is so difficult of comprehension, that without devoting even a longer time to it than I have yet done, I am perhaps hardly justified in speaking of the author's opinion. There are, however, occasional expressions, which, I confess, cause very disagreeable feelings. His earlier work, 'Reden über die Religion,' appears to me savour very strongly of Pantheism; and his friends in Germany are struck with surprise at

¹²Tillich, *Perspectives*, pp. 96-97.

¹³Liddon, *Pusey*, vol. 1, p. 80.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 145.

his having published a third edition without alteration, immediately before his larger work, which they consider as containing more orthodox opinions. Yet §. 19 of that larger work, and his commentary is most ambiguous ... and a critic in the Halle Literature Zeitung for May 1823. No. 115-117, imputes Pantheism to him directly. Again, in vol. 1. 101, and 104, he appears to me to adopt entirely the notion of the Rationalists, that it is impossible to show that all which is commonly called the immediate operation of God, is not, in fact, referable to the ordinary and general working of nature.¹⁵

Pusey's initial reaction to Schleiermacher was one of great ambivalence. During both of his visits to Berlin, Pusey attended Schleiermacher's lectures, and was received by the famous scholar "very kindly in private"¹⁶. One of his earliest impressions of Schleiermacher's teaching can be found in a letter to his old mentor Lloyd dated from 20 August 1826:

From Schleiermacher I hear that he intends to publish a commentary on the whole of the Epistles of St. Paul next October. Scholarship and thought may be expected from the translator of Plato; but of Christianity no more than is consistent with Pantheism. His system is very difficult to understand; but in some sermons his view of the Atonement seems the ordinary Socinian one; [his view] of the Divinity of Christ, that the Deity, who is in some measure displayed in every human being, was in a larger measure revealed in him.¹⁷

Nevertheless, Liddon remembered Pusey in conversation even in the years of his later life describing Schleiermacher "as a man of great earnestness and genius, who was feeling his way back from rationalism towards positive truth"¹⁸. Indeed, already in his *Enquiry*, it was above all else Schleiermacher's outstanding contribution to overcoming Rationalism

¹⁵Rose *Discourses*, first edition pp. 136-137.

¹⁶Ibid., vol. 1, p. 82.

¹⁷E. B. Pusey to C. Lloyd, 20 August 1826 (Pusey House, Oxford, MSS).

¹⁸Liddon, *Pusey*, vol. 1, p. 82.

which Pusey commended. Here, Schleiermacher is depicted as "the great man, who, whatever be the errors of his system, has done more than (some very few perhaps excepted) any other, to the restoration of religious belief in Germany"¹⁹. Pusey considered Schleiermacher's involvement in the 'restoration' of religious belief in Germany to be closely aligned with his endeavours to further a fundamental reorganisation of the study of theology as an academic discipline.²⁰ In this context, he made particular mention of Schleiermacher's *Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums* (1811)²¹, a large-scale reform plan which became virtually the declaration of independence for modern German theology. In spite of some "few great defects", Pusey judged this work "full of important principles and comprehensive views; and which will form a new area in theology whenever the principles which it furnishes for the cultivation of the several theological sciences shall be acted upon"²².

In this respect, posterity seems generally to agree with his opinion. It is said of the *Kurze Darstellung* that it "von allem, was Schleiermacher geschrieben hat als das größte Kunst- und Meisterwerk zu gelten habe. Hier ist erstmals in Klarheit und Vollständigkeit die Idee der modernen theologischen Wissenschaft entwickelt worden"²³. What is more, Liddon's account of Schleiermacher's influence on the formation of Pusey's mind

¹⁹Edward Bouvery Pusey *A Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character Lately Predominant in the theology of Germany* (London: C. & J. Rivington, 1828), p. 115.

²⁰On Schleiermacher's contribution to the reorganisation of theology see Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 188-190.

²¹[Brief Outline of the Study of theology].

²²Pusey, *Enquiry*, p. 115.

²³Wallmann *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 190. [of all Schleiermacher had written, has to be regarded as the greatest masterpiece and work of art. Here, for the first time the idea of modern theological *Wissenschaft* had been developed in clarity and completeness.].

reveals an extraordinary aspect of Pusey's complex religious history. Over and above a mere general acknowledgement of Schleiermacher's theological achievements, Liddon assumed that the young Pusey's experience of Schleiermacher's concept of religion had a far-reaching impact on the development of the distinctive features of Tractarian spirituality:

Schleiermacher's theory, which makes religion consist altogether in a feeling of dependence on God - exaggerated though it was - powerfully appealed to elements in Pusey's character; and it is even probable that Pusey owed the beginnings of some prominent features of his devotional life to his intercourse with Schleiermacher. Schleiermacher had begun his theological studies in the Moravian College at Niesky; and although he withdrew from this community on going to Halle he always referred gratefully to the training in piety for which he was indebted to it. The Moravian devotion to our Lord's Passion in detail - to his Blood, to his Five Wounds, to His Bloody Sweat, to the piercing of His Side, to the print of the nails - had been bitterly criticised by Bengel during Zinzendorf's lifetime; but it remains an essential feature of the Moravian piety. When Pusey afterwards discovered it in the 'Paradise of the Christian soul' he was at home with a devotion which had long ago been at least implicitly recommended to him by Schleiermacher.²⁴

The peculiar tie between the British High Church traditions and those of German Pietism has been the subject of a wide debate since Yngve Brilioth's 1933 lectures on Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement and clearly still merits further investigation.²⁵ Early links between German Protestant spirituality and English High Churchmanship are, for instance, evident in William Law's (1686-1761) *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy*

²⁴Liddon, *Pusey*, vol. 1, p. 84.

²⁵The reception of Pietist traditions within the Oxford Movement in the second half of the nineteenth century is explored in Voll, *Hochkirchlicher Pietismus*.

Life (1728), a work largely influenced by Jakob Böhme (1575-1624)²⁶, the so-called Philosophus Teutonicus. Böhme's metaphysics exercised a far-reaching influence over the leading thinkers of German Idealism and Romanticism, such as Hegel, Schelling and not least Schleiermacher himself. On the other hand, Law's book had a decisive influence on the spiritual make-up of the promoters of the Oxford Movement. Although there is no direct evidence of Schleiermacher's significantly influencing Pusey's encounter with the Passion-piety of the Moravians, Liddon's allusion to Pusey's latent affinity to German Pietism was echoed by Brilioth:

But it is at least not unlikely that it was one of the great Evangelical movements that prepared his [Pusey's] mind for the acceptance of the Passion-mysticism of those Roman Catholic devotional works which he later on adopted for religious use, such as *The Paradise of the Christian Soul*, by Jacob Merlon ... and others.²⁷

As is well known, Brilioth even spoke of Tractarianism with its orientation towards personal devotion, as the English equivalent to the simultaneous Continental revival movement (*Erweckungsbewegung*), and notably referred to Pusey as one of the "great English Evangelicals"²⁸.

Schleiermacher's reputation in England, however, was never secure beyond dispute. What Gordon Rupp had said of the English reception of Luther²⁹ is

²⁶On Jakob Böhme see *RGG* 4, vol. 1 (1998), cols 1668-1669.

²⁷Yngve Brilioth, *Lectures*, p. 34.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 36.

²⁹See Gordon Rupp, *The Righteousness of God* (London: Methuen and Co., 1926), p. 7: "The story of Luther in English dress is a few intermittent bursts of translation. The rest is silence. Those periods of lively concern are 1520-40; 1560-80 in the sixteenth century, 1630-1650 in the seventeenth, the last part of the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth centuries."

even more true of Schleiermacher - he lived, at the best, in the penumbra rather than the centre of English Protestantism. Knowledge of his writings remained for most of the nineteenth century, if not twentieth century, superficial; the *Speeches* were not translated until 1893, almost a hundred years after their first publication. *The Christian Faith*, Schleiermacher's principal systematic work even had to wait until the twentieth century before it was available to English readers. In short, the overall Anglican reception of Schleiermacher reflected a theology that was largely critical of liberal theology. The example of Bishop Thirlwall shows only too well that too close a contact with Schleiermacher could result in rather unfortunate consequences, in his case 'banishment' to the far west of Wales as Bishop of St. David's. The religious public, it seems, did not need to engage itself very deeply with Schleiermacher to be horrified by his 'heterodox system' which, as Pusey put it, was no more than Pantheism. Thus in Pusey and Rose's overall cautious reception of Schleiermacher's teaching, the future course of Schleiermacher's Anglican reception was anticipated. Thirlwall's early preoccupation with Schleiermacher's work, however, remains for some a vain but interesting 'historical might-have-been': how different might the development of Anglican theology have been, had not Rose's stubborn ignorance but Thirlwall's open enthusiasm determined the further reception of Schleiermacher in England?

Rose and Pusey's encounter with German Protestantism occurred in the peak of the period of German Idealism. For a generation, Idealistic philosophy had claimed the leading role in the nation's intellectual life. As the new "Königin der Wissenschaften"³⁰, as Wallmann has stressed the epochmaking significance of the great philosophical concepts of Fichte,

³⁰[queen of the *Wissenschaften*].

Schelling and in particular Hegel, Idealism put the academic pre-eminence of theology its place:

Sie nimmt den Platz einer Königin der Wissenschaften, den früher die Theologie innehatte, den ihr im weiteren Verlauf des 19. Jahrhunderts dann die empirische Naturwissenschaften bestreiten werden. Berlin, die Hauptstadt Preußens, ist seit Fichtes Weggang von Jena (1799) das Zentrum des deutschen Idealismus, wird es endgültig, als Hegel 1818 die Nachfolge Fichtes antritt. Mit Hegels Tod 1831 ist die Uhr des Idealismus abgelaufen. Das Scheitern des alten, 1841 nach Berlin berufenen Schelling markiert am deutlichsten den tiefen Bruch im deutschen Geistesleben, der sich nach Hegels Tod vollzogen hat.³¹

In 1824, the year of Rose's visit to Germany, Hegel was at the zenith of his influence, his fame by far eclipsing that of his old antagonist Schleiermacher. From everywhere people flocked to Berlin to attend his lectures, as did the young David Friedrich Strauß some years after Rose's visit, though only to pay his last respect to his 'master', since Hegel had died shortly after his arrival.³²

³¹Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 193. [It took first place as the queen of the *Wissenschaften*, which was formerly occupied by theology and in the further course of the nineteenth century eventually challenged by the empirical natural sciences. Berlin, capital of Prussia became the centre of the German Idealism with Fichte's departure from Jena (1799) and consolidated this position for good after Hegel's coming into the inheritance of Fichte in 1818. After the death of Hegel, the sands of time had run out for Idealism. The failure of the old Schelling, appointed to Berlin in 1841, marked most clearly the deep break in the German *Geistesleben* which was made after Hegel's death.].

³²See Jörg F. Sandberger, 'David Friedrich Strauß', in Martin Greschat (ed.), *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte*, 12 vols, vol. 9.2 *Die neueste Zeit* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1985), p. 23.



Georg Wilhlem Friedrich Hegel



Friedrich Schlegel



**Friedrich Wilhelm
Joseph von Schelling**

Hegel's contribution to the overcoming of Rationalism cannot be overestimated, but the overall significance of his philosophy for the development of modern theology has always been the subject of great discussion.³³ Indeed, his relationship to the Christian religion and theology was right from its beginning, as Klaus Löwith has put it, essentially ambiguous:

Es besteht in einer philosophischen Rechtfertigung der Religion durch die Kritik ihrer religiösen Vorstellungsform, oder mit dem doppeldeutigen Grundbegriff der Hegelschen Philosophie gesagt: in der Aufhebung der Religion in die Philosophie.³⁴

In Hegel's system, the essential subject of philosophy is 'God and his explication'; it is only about proving the rationality of religion. Thus philosophy in its original meaning is essentially theology. In the history of the spirit, Christianity as a religion of the spirit (John 4,24) occupies a decisive position. The Christian religion is the "entscheidende Angelegenheit der Weltgeschichte"³⁵; the revelation of the divine spirit in Christ is seen as the "Angel, um die sich alles dreht"³⁶. In fact, Hegel's speculative Idealism enabled a great rediscovery of the Christian dogma, yet one elevated from the form of religious imagination to that of the pure idea. With contempt Hegel looked down on contemporary theology, in which "die wichtigen Lehren von der Dreieinigkeit, von der Auferstehung

³³On the current debate over Hegel's significance for theology see Christopher Frey, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, in: *ibid.*, pp. 116-138.

³⁴K. Löwith, Hegels Aufhebung der christlichen Religion, in *Hegelstudien*, Beiheft 1 (1964), pp. 194-195. [It consists of a philosophical justification of religion through the criticism of its religious form of idea, or in terms of the ambiguous basic concept of Hegel's philosophy, in the transformation of religion into philosophy.].

³⁵[deciding concern of the history of the world].

³⁶[the hinge around which everything revolves].

des Leibes, die Wunder im Alten und Neuen Testament als gleichgültig vernachlässigt worden sind und ihre Wichtigkeit verloren haben"³⁷. Through this identification of his own philosophical system with the contents of the Christian tradition, Hegel undoubtedly provided an enormous stimulus to the recovery of theology after the Enlightenment: "In einer Zeit, in der die Christologie zur Darstellung des Lebens Jesu verflacht, stellt Hegel Tod und Auferstehung Christi in den Mittelpunkt des christlichen Glaubens."³⁸ Yet it is the fact that Hegel located the ultimate point of reconciliation between reason and faith in a place higher than and superior to Christianity that Wallmann, not without justification, has regarded as the problematic aspect of Hegel's idealistic philosophy of religion: "Der christliche Glaube erschien als eine notwendige, aber auch notwendig zu übersteigende Stufe zum absoluten Wissen."³⁹

Unsurprisingly, Hegel's sublimated concept of religion encountered even more opposition from conservative church parties than Schleiermacher's new understanding of religion. For many it constituted a 'dissolution of religion', a 'pantheism' (the great and widely used buzzword of that time) and for neo-orthodox theologians and representatives of the contemporaneous Revival Movement, Hegel's Idealism was judged to be largely on a par with the worst excesses of the Enlightenment. In a famous letter to Tholuck from 1826, Hegel felt himself obliged to assert firmly and

³⁷Cited in *LTHK*, vol. 5 (1960), p. 195. [the important doctrines of the Trinity, the resurrection of the body, the miracles in both the Old and New Testaments had been neglected as trivial and have lost their importance].

³⁸Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 196. [In a time in which christology became flattened out to an account of the life of Jesus, Hegel placed the death and resurrection of Christ in the centre of the Christian faith.].

³⁹Ibid. [The Christian faith appeared as a necessary but also as a necessary step to attain absolute knowledge.].

defend not only his Protestant but pointedly his Lutheran identity: "Ich bin ein Lutheraner und durch Philosophie ebenso ganz im Luthertum befestigt."⁴⁰ Such a Lutheranism is clearly illustrated in his apology for Luther's understanding of the Lord's Supper. To Hegel, the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation contained the sole spiritual idea of God's presence, whilst the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation was one of an unspiritual external idea and the Calvinist doctrine was simply that of memorial which lacked entirely any spiritual content.

Hegel's confessional justifications, however, fell on deaf ears. Only a few years after the philosopher's death, in a letter to Pusey, Tholuck revived the old accusations against Hegel's pantheism, complaining that the nation's educated people had come more and more to take Hegel's side. Moreover, concerned with the further development of religion in Germany, Tholuck, in the same letter, was in no doubt of the gradual decline of Rationalism:

Ich sehe es kommen, dass in Deutschland in 100 Jahren nur Pantheisten und Gläubige gegenüberstehen, die Deisten und alten Rationalisten aber ganz verschwinden. Darüber werden Tausende verloren gehen, die jetzt noch wenigstens einen Schimmer der Offenbarung in sich haben.⁴¹

Tholuck's predictions were of course not fulfilled. The further development in the theological and philosophical world in Germany has not been quite that simple. It is precisely the example of Hegel and the ambiguous effect

⁴⁰Cited in *ibid.* [I am a Lutheran and through philosophy equally absolutely steadfast in Lutheranism.].

⁴¹F.A.G. Tholuck to Edward Bouverie Pusey, Halle 21 February 1836 (Pusey House MSS). [I see it coming, that in a hundred years' time only pantheists and the faithful will face each other, but the old Rationalists will entirely vanish. In the meantime, thousands will be lost who at present still have a shadow of the revelation.].

of his philosophy of religion on the further history of ideas in Germany that best illustrates what we have called the 'complexity of the revival of German Protestantism' in the nineteenth century. After Hegel's death, two great philosophical directions can be discerned which, in the words of Strauß, can be identified as *Hegelsche Rechte* and *Hegelsche Linke*⁴². Hegel's postulated reconciliation of the Christian religion and philosophy was interpreted in a conservative framework by such right- or Old Hegelians as Karl Friedrich Göschel (1784-1861), Karl Daub (1765-1836) and Philipp Konrad Marheineke (1780-1846). Of greater influence from a historical viewpoint, however, was the radical and positivistic reinterpretation of Hegel's notion of the overcoming of the religious imagination through the philosophical *Begriff* on the part of left- or Young Hegelians, such as Strauß, Arnold Ruge (1802-1880), Bruno Bauer (1809-1882), and Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872). Feuerbach's religious critical masterpiece *Das Wesen des Christentum* (1841) marks the final transformation of Idealism into materialism and atheism. The first climax of this development, however, Rose did not live to see: Strauß' famous *Leben Jesu*, in which under the application of the 'myth theory' he categorically rejected the historical authenticity of the gospels, did appear in his life time (1835), but a genuine critical response to Strauß' work was not available in England until the publication in 1846 of Eliot's excellent translation as the *Life of Jesus*.

It remains one of the most amazing facts of this case-study that as late as the 1820s Rose was able to deal with the complex developments of German Protestantism without referring to Hegel at all. In the *Discourses* there is no

⁴²[the Hegelian right and Hegelian left].

mention of the leading German philosopher of the day.⁴³ German Idealism as such appears in Rose's account only as a matter of peripheral importance. Schelling was the only representative of the Idealists discussed at some length. Rose valued Schelling because his system marked a renunciation of both Kant's philosophy and theological Rationalism:

His two lectures on the Historical Construction of Christianity, and the Study of Theology, are most extraordinary; but in the most violent opposition to the Rationalist doctrines, against which he expresses himself with great energy and beauty. The Rationalists he compares to the unhappy beings whom Dante describes in the foreground of the mansion of woe, rejected by heaven, but not received by hell; not spiritual, but unbelieving; not pious, and yet not partakers of the frivolous wit of the infidel.⁴⁴

But as far as the the actual contents of Schelling's philosophical system were concerned, however, it becomes apparent that Rose knew only little about his subject at first hand:

He taught, that God was the only existing being, that he was *one* and *all* things, that whatever was out of God, was not, existed not - that we ourselves, as far as we really exist, exist in God, and that our individual and personal existence, is an apparent, and not a real one, for that our real existence consists in our identity with God. It is almost unjust to allude to such a system, in so passing and superficial a manner; but I do so merely to show how entirely this philosophy, which was, and is widely received, tended to the fostering of mysticism; and how much it is the same with the mysticism of former ages, with the Platonic mysticism, which

⁴³On the reception of Hegel in England see Geoffrey Faber, *Jowett. A portrait with background* (London: Faber & Faber limited, 1957). Although individuals, such as Coleridge, Bishop Thirlwall and Dean Stanley were reading Hegel, the real impact of the German philosopher came after James Hutchinson Stirling published his *The Secret of Hegel* in 1865. See James Hutchison Stirling, *The Secret of Hegel Being the Hegelian System in Origin, Principle, Form and Matter* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1865).

⁴⁴Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, p. 97.

inculcated doctrines, if not founded on the same ground, yet tending to the same effect (the necessity, namely, of an entire identification and union of the being with God) and also with the mysticism of subsequent times.⁴⁵

For Rose, Schelling's susceptibility to mysticism was simply an excessive result of the predominance of Rationalism, and as such at least as mistaken as another fatal consequence of that concept, namely the growing religious indifference in Germany:

Such, then have been the effects of the naturalizing doctrines in Germany; indifference on the one hand, and a violent reaction tending to mysticism on the other. Into their farther effects (except as matter of curiosity) we are the less concerned to enquire, as without any knowledge of what these proceedings have done, we can have no difficulty in judging what they are likely to do - no difficulty in rejecting every principle which they involve with disgust and detestation.⁴⁶

It is not intended here to comment in detail upon Schelling's understanding of religion and Christianity.⁴⁷ As applied to Rose's portrayal, however, some points must be made. First of all, it should be borne in mind that Schelling's views were on the whole subject to constant change; his system, if one can possibly speak of 'a' consistent system at all, is too little unified, to be appropriately presented in Rose's simplified way. The *Briefe über Dogmatismus und Kritizismus* (1796) of his early Romantic period (1795-1800), contains indeed a tendency toward a kind of 'Ideal atheism' or dynamical pantheism, which acknowledged the idea of the deity as nothing but a framework for the ultimate goal of humankind's original reality, freedom. Already here, Schelling categorically disapproved of Kant's

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 98.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 101.

⁴⁷See Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 4, pp. 407-446.

philosophical approach which established the idea of God as the moral agent. Although the negation of a moral conception of God remained a prominent feature in Schelling's philosophy, the 'Ideal atheism' of his youth was only a fleeting prelude to his fundamental assertion that the philosophical interpretation of our existence has to have an undeducible absolute as its ground. One only has to consider Schelling's first major systematic period, his so-called *Identitätsphilosophie*⁴⁸ (1801-1806) to see that, in contrast to Rose's pantheistic interpretation, he clearly gave prominence to God's transcendence. God 'comes to himself', but in a pre-worldly happening; he therefore does not need the world, which itself rather emerged from a sovereign divine freedom.⁴⁹ From his emphasis on God's freedom, Schelling, in his later years, even believed that he had finally overcome Hegel's pantheism.⁵⁰

It is true that Schelling's later works are deeply affected by mystical elements. Schelling's understanding of the *Idee*⁵¹ was largely formed by neo-platonic speculations; ideas are situated in God himself, who differentiates himself from material existence as an absolute indifference and totality. As an effect of his friendship with Benedikt Franz Xaver Baader (1765-1841), after 1806, Böhme's theosophist speculations exercised more and more of a profound influence on Schelling. Yet, as indicated above, Böhme was also an important source of inspiration to some traditional High Church spiritual writers, as in the case of the nonjuror Law, as well as for Pietism and the German Revival Movement of the nineteenth century - both anything but heterodox religious phenomena.

⁴⁸[philosophy of identity].

⁴⁹See *LTHK*, vol. 9 (1964), pp. 385-387.

⁵⁰See *RGG* 3, vol. 5 (1961), col. 1399.

⁵¹[idea].

Furthermore, ever since the entry of Plato's idealist teaching into Christian philosophy, there had always been, generally speaking, a lively exchange between mysticism and conceptual philosophy. Mystical experience, in order not to get lost in the dimension of closed feeling, always benefitted immensely from the inclusion of philosophical concepts.

Yet at the level of spiritual temper, Rose's strong misgivings about mysticism represented a particular strain of pre-Tractarian High Churchmanship akin to the orthodox apologetic of Bishop Marsh's 'evidence theology'. The spiritual temper that characterised many members of the 'Hackney Phalanx' remained theologically rooted in an apologetic which put great emphasis on the reasonableness of Christianity.⁵² From Rose's viewpoint, Schelling dangerously overstressed the sensual and the 'power of imagination' which virtually bordered on crypto-paganism:

It was, therefore, to the cultivation and excitement of the imagination, and consequently of the senses, that all attention was to be directed, and not to any extension of knowledge, nor direct emendation of the heart. The public preachers were required by some of the disciples of this philosophy, to address themselves only to this point, and they were vehement accusers of the frigid sobriety of the Protestant worship, which rejected all splendid pomp and ceremonial, and the aid of all the elegant arts which could affect the senses and thus excite the imagination. It will hardly be believed, that some of this school seemed to regret on these grounds, the destruction of that heathen religion, which was so entirely a religion of the senses, while the author of the system (if I do not misunderstand him) contended, that the Esoteric religion of the Greeks in their mysteries, was, in fact, the Christian system, which only revealed openly, what the mysteries had taught in private."⁵³

⁵²On High Churchmanship and spirituality see Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, pp. 184-227.

⁵³Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, pp. 99-100.

However, there was another side-effect of Schelling's emphasis on the 'imagination' which, from Rose's traditional High Church viewpoint, aroused his suspicion almost as much as the alleged pagan tendencies, which he saw as illustrative of an increasing leaning towards Roman Catholicism on the part of a great number of German Protestants:

But it need hardly be said, that Catholicism soon began to find favour in the eyes of those who held those opinions, because it assuredly addresses itself so strongly to the senses, and in that respect, at least, supplies the void of which these writers complained. The consequence was, that many openly deserted the Protestant church, while others would have accommodated the Protestant to the Roman Catholic Religion, as to its ceremonies and worship ... There were differences of opinion, however, among them, as to the degree in which the Roman Catholic rites should be introduced, and others adopted what must be called a kind of allegorical Catholicism. For they explain the philosophy of Schelling in words and phrases taken from the Catholic doctrines, and speak of the priests and the sacrifices of the Christian religion, without at all meaning to receive these words in their strict and legitimate acceptance.⁵⁴

After the crisis caused by the French Revolution and the Age of Enlightenment, the early decades of the nineteenth century had indeed witnessed a powerful revival of Roman Catholicism accompanied by a considerable number of conversions. Such a Roman Catholic resurgence began in 1800 with the conversion of the aristocratic poet Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg (1750-1819), one of the chief representatives of the *Sturm und Drang* period. His later works, the *Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi* (15 vols, 1806-1818)⁵⁵ decisively contributed to the revival of the historical awareness of Catholicism. In the wake of Stolberg's conversion, mention should be made of those famous converts who came

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 100-101.

⁵⁵[History of the religion of Jesus Christ].

from the north-German Romantic movement. Among these were Friedrich Schlegel, creator of the early Romantic philosophy of art and culture (conversion: 1808) and Zacharias Werner (1768-1823), regarded as one of the most eminent Romantic dramatists (1810).

Before 1819 apparently no fewer than nineteen German painters converted to Roman Catholicism, all of them closely attached to the *Nazarener*, a school of painting which, in a pronounced return to the forms of old German art, aspired to a revival of art on a religious basis. Those artist converts included Philipp Veit (1793-1877), the stepson of Friedrich Schlegel (1810), and Johann Friedrich Overbeck (1789-1869), the leader of the *Nazarener* school (1813). The convert movement also involved several statesmen, such as Adam Heinrich Müller (1779-1829), the principal Romantic theorist of political and social science (1805), and Carl Ludwig von Haller (1768-1854), the influential spokesman in matters of constitutional law during the Restoration (1820). Joseph von Görres (1776-1848), scholar and founder of modern political journalism, returned to the Roman Catholic Church as did the poet Clemens Wenzel Maria Brentano (1778-1842).

Schelling undoubtedly exercised an immense influence on the Romantic awareness of religion and Christianity that went far beyond denominational boundaries. The leaders of the Catholic Tübingen school, such as Johann Sebastian Drey (1777-1853) and Johann Adam Möhler (1796-1838), acknowledged their debt to him, and in Jena where he was appointed Professor of Philosophy in 1798, he came into close contact with the so-called Jena Romantics gathered around August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767-1845), best known for his Shakespeare translations, his brother Friedrich,

the writer Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853) and the ingenious poet Friedrich von Hardenberg, known as Novalis (1772-1801). However, the motivating force behind the rediscovery of Catholicism in early nineteenth-century Germany rather has first and foremost to be seen as a phenomenon springing out of the prevailing Romantic *Zeitgeist*, which understood itself above all as a countermovement to the Enlightenment and the consequences of the French Revolution.

The meaning of Romanticism for ecclesiastical history is not easy to grasp. Amazingly, at least in German theological research, this period has been one of the most neglected of all church epochs. In contrast to the Age of Enlightenment, Romanticism has not formed its own distinctive epoch - the 'theology of Romanticism' has never been adopted as a specific term. The main reason probably lies in its complex and contradictory character, for the labyrinthine ambiguity of Romanticism and its manifestations complicates and paralyses an attempt to give a generally viable definition to this epoch. In his *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*⁵⁶, the art historian Georg Dehio (1850-1932) saw the German as the Romantic *per se*: "gotisch, romantisch, barock - was alles nur verschiedene Namen für dieselbe Sache sind"⁵⁷. In any case, it seems worth while to take into consideration the idea which sees Romanticism as a sort of timeless and valid basic position of all humankind; the Romantic as the irrational type as such. Therefore, the Romantic Movement around 1800 would be nothing but a specific manifestation of an attitude towards the world that has always latently existed.

⁵⁶[history of German art].

⁵⁷Cited in *RGG* 3, vol. 5 (1961), col. 1167. [Gothic, Romantic, Barock, all are just different names for the same thing].

According to general understanding, the main features of Romanticism can be understood as "Durchbruch des Individuums zu subjektiver Freiheit, die Freisetzung der Kräfte des Gefühls - auch des religiösen - und der Phantasie und vor allem eine entscheidende Erweiterung des menschlichen Bewußtseins".⁵⁸ The expansion of the human consciousness generally corresponds to a distinctive sense of the irrational, which leads on the one hand to an intensification of the emotional life, and on the other, to a strict rejection of the principles of Rationalism. In literature and philosophy, the Romantic movement held a world view that saw existence as eternal becoming, the single and finite as an expression of the infinite. In his lectures on the history of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Protestant theology, Tillich has maintained that this relation between the finite and infinite is "the first principle of Romanticism on which everything else is dependent"⁵⁹.

Furthermore, one of the most characteristic and effective impacts of Romanticism was a decisive turn to history. The rediscovery of folk poetry and national customs and the longing for the original from the past led to a new deep respect for the Middle Ages. It was in the early nineteenth century that historical disciplines began to grow and flourish. The new awareness of tradition and history is probably the most obvious Romantic reaction against the Enlightenment's critical principle of reason. Tillich has given a striking analysis of the interaction between a positive evaluation of the past and the quest for unity and authority:

⁵⁸Ibid. [the breakthrough of the individual to subjective freedom, the release of the powers of feeling - even the religious - and the imagination but most of all a decisive expansion of the human consciousness].

⁵⁹Paul Tillich, *Perspectives*, p. 78.

I said that Romanticism is a longing to return to the Middle Ages and its organic structure ... On the whole, the organic has a hierarchical character, which can easily be derived from the concept of the organic in nature. Man as an organism is also hierarchically construed; his centred self is the top of the hierarchy which directs everything. So the idea of the re-establishment of authority was a powerful element in Romanticism, and out of this came the reaction against the democratic tendencies of the American and French Revolutions.⁶⁰

In this context, the image of the Roman Catholic Church and its historical dignity underwent a highly emotional renaissance. A quite extraordinary example of this 'Catholic mood' is the fact that it was a Protestant monarch, Friedrich Wilhelm IV (1840-1858) of Prussia, called the 'Romantic on the throne', who took the initiative for the completion of the Cathedral of Cologne, the biggest Catholic church in Germany.⁶¹ The new sense of the mystery of the human soul and of the world as nature, and not least the increasing appreciation of 'feeling' as the seat of the inner life were the prerequisites for a revival and new internalisation of the dimension of ritual. It was in this period, after the liturgical stagnation of the Enlightenment, that German Protestantism saw a revaluation of the meaning of ritual, again notably in Prussia, where King Friedrich Wilhelm III himself initiated liturgical reform.

It was argued that in contrast to the developments in England, German Romanticism took right from the beginning an intensively Roman Catholic direction.⁶² The enthusiastic revaluation of Catholicism in Germany

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 86.

⁶¹In 1842, the king himself laid the foundation stone for the final completion of the cathedral, which since the Middle Ages had remained a building site.

⁶²See Hüschemeyer-Keller, *Lehre*, pp. 12-13.

proceeded by and large at the expense of the reputation of the Reformation as an historical entity; Romantic poetry and philosophy were, as Hirsch has maintained, anti-Protestant,

gerade weil sie den Protestantismus durchgangen haben und nun, nach zu Ende geführter Aufräumarbeit, auf ein ganz Neues hoffen. Die Erscheinung der universellen, noch nicht vom Protestantismus zerrissenen Kirche ist ihnen Gegenstand poetischer und spekulativer Betrachtung"⁶³.

At the very heart of the Romantic leanings towards Catholicism was, more than anything else, the influence of the fragmentary lifework of the most romantic spirit among the Romantics, Novalis. His *Die Christenheit oder Europa*⁶⁴ from 1799, which has been called by Hirsch a "Schicksalsstunde der romantischen Bewegung"⁶⁵, was a driving source of inspiration for the vast majority of the Romantic converts. In this essay, Novalis praised the period of an idealised medieval papacy as a golden age within the history of Christendom. The Reformation, on the other hand, was categorically debased as the root of all the contemporary troubles. Enlightenment, Rationalism, atheism and even the French Revolution as the climax of the self-mutilation of Europe, all are in the last analysis negative historical consequences of Protestantism. Since the Romantic convert movement was imbued with overcoming the shallowness of the Rationalist understanding of religion, for many converts, the Roman Catholic Church was perceived

⁶³Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 4, p. 430. [precisely because they had passed through Protestantism and now, after the cleaning-up operations were finished, waited for something completely new. The image of an universal Church, unrent by the work of the Reformation, became the subject of their poetic and speculative contemplation.].

⁶⁴[Christianity or Europe].

⁶⁵Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 4, p. 430. [the fateful hour of the Romantic movement].

as something of a resting place in a 'safe harbour' after a restless and vain yearning for infinity.

Novalis's judgements on the course of ecclesiastical history are basically the judgements of a poet rather than of an historian or a philosophical thinker. Nevertheless, his views on the medieval papacy and the religious dreariness of Protestantism exercised, as in Hirsch's summary of Novalis's significance for nineteenth-century theology, a far-reaching influence on both the Romantic Restoration and the Roman Catholic conception of history.⁶⁶

However, it should be taken into consideration that the Catholic convert movement in Germany was by no means as powerful as Rose indicated in his *Discourses*. On the whole, the Catholic revival did not have the staying power to exercise a lasting impact on the churches and society. Nor did the admittedly large number of converts constitute a serious threat to the established Protestant *Landeskirchen* in Germany. The movement rather afflicted only princes and the Romantic intellectual elite, and had little, if any support among ordinary people. Leading Catholic thinkers, such as the Silesian poet Joseph Freiherr von Eichendorff (1788-1857), greeted the convert movement from an ironic distance and Novalis, whose work gave the impetus to many converts, himself never left the Protestant Church in which he had been brought up. His idealistic vision of the revival of Christianity should not be simply mistaken as advocating the restoration of the medieval papacy. Novalis' ideal of a new Christian communion was rather one that was above denominations.

⁶⁶See *ibid.*, pp. 436-437.

In short, Rose was completely mistaken in suggesting in conclusion that the convert movement in the early nineteenth century was set off by Schelling's religious philosophy. His speculative understanding of religion and Christianity, which undoubtedly exhibited a distance from certain Protestant principles, such as the emphasis on the external word, gave him a very wide hearing among the German Romantics. Nevertheless he did not and could not create the revival of Roman Catholicism in Germany on his own. Rather, Schelling cannot be understood apart from the overall framework of the Romantic *Zeitgeist*; after all, it can be proved that the young Schelling was himself as much under Novalis's influence as the Romantic converts. Besides, Schelling's attachment to this foremost romantic circle in Germany in any case did not last long; his final break from them had already taken place by 1800, marked by the publication of his *System des transcendentalen Idealismus*. Finally, it has to be said that Rose himself slightly qualified his own account by inferring that the convert movement in Germany partly had to be understood as the dramatic consequence of the poor state of Protestantism there:

I would not, however, be understood to say, that all who passed over to the Roman Catholic church, passed over in consequence of their acceptance of the mystical doctrines. It is on record, that some sought in the bosom of a church, which in the midst of all its dreadful corruptions, at least possessed the form, and retained the leading doctrines of a true church, the peace which they sought in vain amid the endless variations of the Protestant churches of Germany, and their gradual renunciation of every doctrine of Christianity.⁶⁷

Rose's account of the Romantic convert movement towards Catholicism is all in all more valuable as an indication of Rose's own spiritual framework,

⁶⁷Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, p. 101.

than for the strict accuracy of the actual course of events in Germany. The anti-Roman Catholic stance in Rose's perception of mysticism was clearly in tune with the more 'high and dry' strand of traditional High Church worship. The theological emphasis on the reasonableness of the Christian Faith, as indicated above, embodied an aversion to the religious phenomenon of an immediate experience of the divine reality as something distinctly Roman Catholic. Rose's critical attitude towards mysticism anticipated the strong repudiation of religious experience which became characteristic in some quarters of German Protestantism in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Especially since Albrecht Ritschl's (1822-1889) strong verdict on mysticism as a diseased phenomenon within Christianity, the concept of Protestant mysticism has come to be viewed with suspicion. However, the mistrust of the mystical remained a prominent feature of Rose's spiritual make up and later resurfaced in his candid reaction against mystical tendencies in Tractarian spirituality.⁶⁸

The forgoing pages have demonstrated that the first decades of the nineteenth century brought about a radical change within the whole edifice of Protestant theology and indeed Christianity as such. The unity and uniformity which were fairly characteristic of Protestant theology until the period of the *altprotestantische Orthodoxie*⁶⁹ and survived to a certain extent even in the Enlightenment as far as the different lines of thought are

⁶⁸See Nockles, *Oxford Movement*, p. 209.

⁶⁹The term is conventionally applied to the post-Reformation period which was dominated by a great zeal for the preservation of the purity of the teaching of the Reformation. The old Protestant orthodoxy dates roughly from 1580, the year of the ratification of the definitive collection of the principal confessional documents of Lutheranism (*Book of Concord* [*Konkordienbuch*]), to the emergence of Pietism, marked by the publication of Philip Jakob Spener's (1635-1705) *Pia desideria* in 1675.

concerned, now altogether vanished. It is in the nineteenth century that the individuality of the theologian increasingly gained ground and, as result, academic pluralism eventually became the common character of German Protestantism. Wallmann therefore has called that century the classic age of Protestant theology:

Freigesetzt von der Macht der Tradition durch die aufklärerische Unterscheidung von Theologie und Religion, in vielfacher Weise angeregt durch Romantik, Idealismus und Erweckung, hat die Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert einen Reichtum von Entwürfen und Systemen hervorgebracht wie nie zuvor.⁷⁰

⁷⁰Wallmann *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 220. [Released from the power of tradition through the distinction of the Enlightenment between theology and religion and stimulated in many respects through Romanticism, Idealism and Revival Movement, the theology of the nineteenth century brought forth an abundance of approaches and systems as never before.].

3.2 Setting of the agenda for the conservative opposition to Rationalism: Rose and the German Supernaturalists

Even though Schleiermacher's new understanding of religion and the speculative systems of Hegel and Schelling contributed immensely to the revival of the religious life in Germany, it is by the same token almost predictable that Rose's *Discourses* are not particularly illuminating as far as the early stages of the English reception of either Schleiermacher or the German Idealists are concerned. Both theological approaches were generally perceived in conservative quarters as equally challenging and dangerous as Rationalism itself. Moreover, that the complexity and the new theological diversity which were characteristic of the renewal of German Protestantism in early Romanticism appealed little, and had nothing to recommend it, to Rose, an orthodox Anglican of the old High Church school, is not only understandable but, as will appear, mirrored exactly the argument of contemporary conservative churchmen in Germany itself. Rose, in fact, right at the beginning of his *Discourses*, thought it important to establish that he, after all, only expressed, "what has been said to me by every intelligent German with whom I conversed on the subject"⁷¹. In particular in the *Appendix*, Rose devoted considerable space to show how much his own notions and criticisms of the developments in German Protestantism basically coincided with those of a growing number of German divines, maintaining that all these people to whom he referred spoke of the very subject "in even stronger terms than I have done and that

⁷¹Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, p. viii.

some of them declare unreservedly that there are indeed Churches, but no longer any Church in Germany"⁷².

Rose went even so far as to present some evidence from various Rationalist writers themselves to illustrate the vast extent of the inner-German conflict over the current developments. Stäudlin, complimented by Rose for his "moderation and the gentlemanlike tone in which he writes, and for the respect which he shows to the opinion and feelings of those who differ from him"⁷³, was quoted from his *Briefe über der Rationalismus*⁷⁴ where he deplored

that many other Rationalists of our day ... write with ill-breeding, rudeness, violence, presumption, and intolerance, that they scatter terms of abuse, and treat all who differ from them with sneers and contempt, as irrational and ignorant creatures, though they exhibit themselves a very low degree of philosophy and learning. One cannot but be ashamed of entering into a controversy with them.⁷⁵

Among the conservative German divines Rose singled out as those who 'opposed the Rationalists', particular mention should be made of the Lutheran divines Gottlob Christian Storr (1746-1805)⁷⁶ Franz Volkmar Reinhard (1753-1812)⁷⁷ and Johann August Tittmann (1773-1831)⁷⁸, who were all protagonists of the school of Supernaturalism [*Supranaturalismus*]. Both Rationalism and Supernaturalism, in their

⁷²Rose, *Appendix*, p. 9.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. iv.

⁷⁴[letters on Rationalism].

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶On Gottlob Christian Storr see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 71-77, *RGG* 3, vol. 6 (1962), col. 391.

⁷⁷On Franz Volkmar Reinhard see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 4, pp. 162-163, vol. 5, pp. 80-87, *RGG* 3, vol. 5 (1961), col. 946.

⁷⁸On Johann August Tittmann see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 84-85, *RGG* 3, vol 6 (1962), col. 905.

different ways, have to be seen as responses to Kant's critical philosophy. Yet where Rationalists denied the necessity of a supernatural revelation and raised reason as the only critical authority in questions of Christian tradition and faith, Supernaturalists, on the other hand, by following Kant's epistemological notion that within the realms of the divine, human reason does not have any power of judgement whatsoever, held to the belief in an immediate and supernatural revelation.

Im Supernaturalismus behielt oder gewann der Glaube an eine unmittelbare, übernatürliche Offenbarung wieder seinen Platz ... Der Supernaturalismus erhob Jesus zum Garanten der göttlichen Autorität der heiligen Schrift; doch hinderte das den Supernaturalismus nicht, die Bibel ganz nach Art des Rationalismus seiner vernünftigen Einsicht nach auszulegen.⁷⁹

"Offenbarungsglaube ist Bibelglaube, oder er ist nichts"⁸⁰, as Hirsch has summarised the key tenet of the Supernaturalist system. Rose's understanding of the Supernaturalist party in Germany is outlined in the preface to the second edition of his *Discourses*. His definition, however, is again simply a translation which he took from Stäudlin's *Geschichte des Supranaturalismus and Rationalismus*⁸¹.

Supranaturalism consists in general in the conviction that God has revealed himself supernaturally and immediately. What is revealed might perhaps be discovered by natural methods, but either not at all or very late by those to whom it is revealed. It may also be

⁷⁹RGG 3, vol. 5 (1961), col. 797. [Within Supernaturalism, belief in an immediate, supernatural revelation kept or regained its place ... Supernaturalism exalted Jesus into the guarantee of the divine authority of Holy Scripture; yet that did not prevent Supernaturalism from interpreting the Bible entirely in the manner of Rationalism according to its rational understanding.].

⁸⁰Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, p. 71. [faith in revelation is faith in the Bible or it is worth nothing].

⁸¹[history of Supernaturalism and Rationalism].

something which man could never have known by natural methods, and then arises the question, whether man is capable of such a revelation. The notion of a miracle cannot well be separated from such a revelation, whether it happens out of, on, or in men. What is revealed may belong to the order of Nature, but an order higher and unknown to us, which we could never have known without miracles, and cannot bring under the laws of nature.⁸²

Within the limits of Supernaturalism, as sketched briefly here, it was Tübingen which became the first centre of German Supernaturalism. As one of the old strongholds of the Pietist tradition and ever since the Reformation a centre of Lutheran orthodoxy, Tübingen did not have a Rationalist period at all. Here, Storr founded in the latter half of the eighteenth century the older *Tübinger Schule*⁸³, the influence of which reached well on into the second third of the nineteenth century.⁸⁴ Among its most prominent members were Johann Friedrich Flatt (1759-1821), his younger brother Karl Christian (1772-1843), Friedrich Gottlieb Süskind (1767-1829) and lastly Johann Christian Friedrich Steudel (1779-1837).

A native of Stuttgart in Württemberg and the son of the theologian and lyrical poet Johann Christian (1712-1773), Storr, after extensive journeys abroad and ecclesiastical service, became professor at Tübingen first in philosophy (1775) and then in theology (1777). From 1797 he was councillor at the *Konsistorium* and *Oberhofprediger*⁸⁵ in Stuttgart. Storr's chief dogmatic work, *Doctrinae christianae pars theoretica e sacris literis*

⁸²Rose, *Discourses*, second edition, pp. xviii-xix. See Stäudlin, *Geschichte*, pp. 3-4.

⁸³[Tübingen School].

⁸⁴Storr's Supernaturalist Tübingen school should not be confused with the nineteenth-century Tübingen school of German New Testament scholars founded by the German Idealist Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860) nor with the Catholic Tübingen school around Möhler, Karl Joseph Hefele (1809-1893) and others.

⁸⁵[chief court preacher].

repetita from 1793, temporarily introduced as the official textbook in the Evangelical Church in Württemberg (German translation in 1803), became the manifesto of German biblical-apologetic Supernaturalism. In the controversy over the new methodological principles of Neologist biblical criticism, Storr directed several treatises against Semler's doctrine of accomodation. The fame of Storr's orthodoxy, however, was, according to Hirsch, based on his attempt to preserve the old Lutheran understanding of the doctrines of atonement and justification.⁸⁶

Apart from Storr's Tübingen School, there existed also a North-German Supernaturalist school counting among its members Reinhard, Tittmann, Georg Christian Knapp (1753-1825), the last academic representative of the Halle Pietism, and Johann Friedrich Kleuker (1749-1827) who in 1798 was appointed professor in theology at Kiel to counteract the Rationalist tendencies in Schleswig-Holstein. Reinhard, originally from Vohenstrauß in Upper Palatinate, held various university and ecclesiastical offices in Saxony. In 1777, he became *Privatdozent*⁸⁷, in 1780 *außerordentlicher Professor*⁸⁸ of philosophy and from 1782 to 1792 *ordentlicher Professor*⁸⁹

⁸⁶Storr's approach to the doctrine of atonement and justification is critically examined in Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 76-77.

⁸⁷Rogerson, *Criticism*, p. xiii, A *Privatdozent* is a recognized teacher in a ... faculty of a particular university. To become a *Privatdozent* in the nineteenth century in Germany, it was necessary at the very least to have gained a doctorate by thesis. In most universities it was also necessary to have submitted an additional thesis (*Habilitationsschrift*) or to have gained by further study a Licentiate in Theology. A *Privatdozent* had the right to give public lectures in the faculty which recognized him. He received no salary, but the students who attended his classes would pay him tuition fees.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. xiii, "An *ausserordentlicher* Professor in the nineteenth century was a university teacher appointed by the Minister for Education in the state or *Land* where the university was situated. He received a salary, but did not occupy an established chair."

⁸⁹An *ordentlicher Professor* or *Ordinarius* was a university teacher who occupied an established chair.

of theology at Wittenberg, Luther's old university which in 1817 was closed and united with that of Halle. His ecclesiastical career began in 1784 with his appointment as *Propst*⁹⁰ at the Court Church in Wittenberg. In 1792 Reinhard joined the *Oberkonstitorium* in Dresden as chief court preacher. His reputation as one of the most accomplished preachers of his time, whose sermons, as is said, attracted every Sunday three- to four thousand listeners and were published in more than forty volumes, won him admiration all over Germany and numerous honours, such as the offer of a councillor of state in the highest church authority in Berlin, a post which he declined in spite of its prestige.

Reinhard's opposition to the radicalizing forms of Rationalism culminated in his famous sermon at the celebration of Reformation Day in Dresden on 31 October 1800, which aroused a great controversy among rationalists but contributed decisively to the Luther renaissance in Saxony. Although Rose did not mention Reinhard's much discussed Reformation Day sermon at all, he quoted from a passage of his *Geständnisse, seine Predigten und seine Bildung zum Prediger betreffend*⁹¹, of 1810 where he described his path to "a belief in orthodox Christianity".

I became a Preacher at a time when our innovating theologians had arrived at making the Christian system so simple and so easy to comprehend, that it was nothing more than pure Deism. At this epoch, whoever aspired to reputation, or to the eulogies of the journals, must as an almost indispensable condition, have attacked the authenticity of some book of Scripture, or the truth of some point of doctrine. He who dared to present himself in public without paying his tribute to the spirit of the age, had no other reception to expect than contempt and ridicule ... But in fact the greatest number

⁹⁰[provost].

⁹¹[confessions regarding his sermons and his formation as preacher].

of innovating theologians did not know what they wished, and did not understand to what their efforts led.⁹²

Tittmann, the son of a Lutheran theologian, spent his long university career at Leipzig, first as *Privatdozent* in philosophy (1793), then as *außerordentlicher Professor* in philosophy (1796), and in theology (1800) and finally as *ordentlicher Professor* in theology (1805). In the third edition of the *RGG*, Tittmann is remembered as someone whose many gifts were not only restricted to the world of theology: "Von hervorragender Gelehrsamkeit, ciceronischer Beredsamkeit und unverwüstlicher Heiterkeit, war er auch im öffentlichen und staatlichen Leben erfolgreich."⁹³ Tittmann and Reinhard were by far the most astute thinkers among the early conservative critics of theological Rationalism. In 1816, Tittmann published his *Supernaturalismus, Rationalismus und Atheismus*, which marked an important turning point in the debate over the legacy of Rationalism. In this work, Tittmann argued that the objection of Rationalism to the supernatural and immediate influence of God would deny any immediate influence of God in nature. Furthermore, the Rationalists' exclusive emphasis on the all-pervading power of reason and by the same token the rejection of anything inscrutable from reason would deny the principle of the absolute causality which is implied by the theology of creation. For Tittmann, Rationalism therefore consistently amounted to Atheism.

Ist es also wahr, dass der Offenbarungsglaube, der Vernunft zuwider ist, weil er die Vernunft nöthigen würde, etwas ihr fremdes aufzunehmen, und sich selbst einem fremden Willen zu

⁹²Rose, *Appendix*, p. 3.

⁹³*RGG* 3, vol. 6 (1962), col. 905. As someone of excellent learning, Ciceronian eloquence and irrepressible cheerfulness he was also successful in public life and state affairs].

unterwerfen, so ist es nicht weniger wahr, daß aller religiöse Glaube überhaupt der Vernunft zuwider sey; denn es widerspricht der Vernunft eben so sehr, Gott als Gesetzgeber wirklich zu denken, als von ihm Gesetze zu empfangen, und es bleibt also kein Glaube an Gott übrig, sondern nichts als Forderungen an einen Herrn der Natur, von welchem sich die Vernunft als ganz unabhängig betrachten muß. Entweder Gott alles in allen, auch über der Vernunft, oder - es ist kein Gott. Demnach ist es unleugbar, daß die Prinzipien, mit welchen man unter den Nahmen des Rationalismus den Offenbarungsglauben als vernunftwidrig bestreitet, unvermeidlich zum Atheismus führen ... Und wir tragen kein Bedenken zu behaupten, das, was man in dem Streite mit dem Supranaturalismus, als Rationalismus aufstellt, sey seinen Grundsätzen nach nichts anders als Atheismus.⁹⁴

In Rose's *Discourses*, Tittmann appears as one of the most authoritative sources; there are no fewer than fifteen cross-references to the *Pragmatische Geschichte der Theologie und Religion in der protestantischen Kirche während der 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*⁹⁵ (1805), an extensive critical study of the Enlightenment, which in 1824, the year of Rose's visit to Germany, saw a second edition. It is above all Tittmann to whom Rose repeatedly acknowledged his debt as the one, whose account of Rationalist opinions were "agreeing in its facts with

⁹⁴Johann August Tittmann, *Über Supranaturalismus, Rationalismus und Atheismus* (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer d. Jüng., 1816), pp. 286-287. [If it is therefore true, that faith in revelation is contrary to reason, for it would force reason to accept something foreign to it and to submit itself to a foreign will, then it is not less true that all religious faith as such is contrary to reason; since it goes as much against reason to think really of God as law-maker as to receive laws from him, and therefore no faith in God remains which is nothing more than the demands of a lord of nature, of whom reason has to regard itself as entirely independent. Either God is all in all, even above reason or there is no God. Therefore, it is undeniable that the principles by which, under the name of Rationalism, the faith in revelation is disputed as against reason, lead unavoidably to Atheism ... And we do not have any doubt that what in the dispute with Supernaturalism has been called Rationalism, is according to its principles nothing but Atheism.].

⁹⁵[pragmatic history of the theology and religion of the Protestant Church during the second half of the eighteenth century].

mine"⁹⁶. It is worth quoting in full a lengthy excerpt which Rose translated from Tittmann's Latin commentary on St. John's Gospel for it vividly distills the heated debate which erupted in Germany itself over Rationalism. In the preface to that work, which Rose took for granted would be known to his readers, Tittmann issued a strong warning against the dangers of the hermeneutical arbitrariness to which the historico-critical method could easily lead.

What is the interpretation of the Scriptures if it relies not on words, but things, not on the assistance of languages, but on the decrees of reason, that is, of modern philosophy? What is all religion, what the knowledge of divine things, what are faith and hope placed in Christ, what is all Christianity if human reason and philosophy is the only fountain of divine wisdom and the supreme judge in the matter of religion? ... But what then, I pray you, is, to deny, to blaspheme Jesus the Lord, to render his divine mission doubtful, nay vain and useless, to impugn his doctrine, to disfigure it shamefully, to attack it, to expose it to ridicule, and if possible, to suppress it, to remove all Christianity out of religion, and to bound religion within the narrow limits of reason alone, to deride miracles, and hold them up to derision, to accuse them as vain, to bring them into disrepute, to torture sacred Scripture into seeming agreement with the fancies of human wisdom, to alloy it with human conjectures, to bring it into contempt, and to break down its divine authority, to undermine, to shake, to overthrow utterly the foundations of Christian faith? What else can be the event than this, as all history, a most weighty witness in this matter informs us, namely, that when sacred Scripture, its grammatical interpretation and a sound knowledge of languages are, as it were, despised and banished, all religion should be condemned, shaken, corrupted, troubled, undermined, utterly overturned, and should be entirely removed and reduced to natural religion; or that it should end in a mystical theology, than which nothing was ever more pernicious to the Christian doctrine, and be converted into an empty *Μυτολογία* or even into a poetical system, hiding every thing in figures and fictions, to which latter system not a few of the sacred orators and theologians of our time seem chiefly inclined.⁹⁷

⁹⁶Rose, *Appendix*, p. 7.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

Controversy between Rationalists and Supernaturalists rumbled on in the 1810s and was brought to a temporary head by Claus Harms (1778-1855).⁹⁸ Originally a farm labourer, Harms came relatively late in life to university. The predominant Rationalist faculty at his *alma mater*, Kiel, left him unsatisfied and under the influence of Schleiermacher's *Speeches*, he underwent a dramatic conversion experience. In 1817, the third centenary of Luther's posting up of his Ninety-Five theses on indulgences, which is generally regarded as the outbreak of the Reformation, Harms, at that time archdeacon at St. Nicolai, Kiel's main church, published ninety-five theses of his own in which he sharply attacked theological Rationalism, castigating its 'idols' reason and conscience as the 'pope of the times', 'antichrist' and 'Gog and Magog'. By the same token, Harms brought up his big guns against the forthcoming ceremony of the union between Lutherans and Calvinists in Wittenberg: "Vollzieht den Akt nicht über Luthers Gebein! Er wird lebendig davon und dann wehe euch." (thesis 75)⁹⁹. For Harms, truly a preacher with the common touch, the union was nothing but the fruit of the Enlightenment, which as such was to be traced back to no less than the devil himself. If for anything, Harms is chiefly remembered "for his defence of Lutheran theology at a time when its distinctive elements were threatened by the movement for reuniting the two Protestant confessions in Prussia"¹⁰⁰. Harms's theses from 1817 marked indeed an important step in the renewal of orthodox Lutheranism and in the long term contributed decisively to the consolidation of a neo-Lutheranism which soon became a powerful force in the modern history of Protestantism.

⁹⁸On Claus Harms see *RGG* 3, vol. 3 (1959), col. 76.

⁹⁹[Do not perform this act over Luther's remains! He will come back to life for that and then you will be sorry.].

¹⁰⁰*ODCC*, p. 736.

Sehr bald aber schwillt dieses Neuluthertum zu einem Strom an, der eine große Zahl deutscher Landeskirchen erfaßt, auch in die Unionskirchen eindringt, über die deutschen Grenzen hinaus bis nach Skandinavien und Nordamerika weiterwirkt. Dieses Neuluthertum, auch lutherischer Konfessionalismus genannt, hat das Gesicht eines großen Teils des deutschen Protestantismus bis ins 20. Jahrhundert hinein, ja bis in die Gegenwart geprägt.¹⁰¹

Hirsch, although he did not think much of the literary quality of Harms's *Ninety-Five Theses* and described it as a "naives Machwerk ohne theologischen Gehalt, begrifflich unbestimmt, über vieles hin- und herfahrend, in derber eigentümlicher Sprache"¹⁰², regarded them nevertheless as decisive in the intensifying fight of Supernaturalism against Rationalism.¹⁰³ The general response to Harms's sweeping attack was indeed extraordinary; in the course of only one year, Protestant Germany was stricken by a regular tidal wave of approximately 430 publications on the problem of reason and revelation.

In Germany, the religious climate of the following years was marked by a noticeable hardening, and the 1820s and early 1830s became a time of great public clashes between the rival Rationalist and conservative church parties. In the second edition to his *Discourses*, Rose briefly touched upon a recent university disputation at Leipzig which had "made the greatest

¹⁰¹Wallmann, *Geschichte*, pp. 213-214. [Rapidly neo-Lutheranism rose to a torrent, which swept away a large number of German *Landeskirchen*, even penetrating into the Churches of the Union and was effective beyond the German border as far as Scandinavia and North America. This neo-Lutheranism, also called Lutheran confessionalism, has formed a large part of German Protestantism up to the twentieth century, indeed, even up to the present time.].

¹⁰²Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 85-86. [a naive sorry effort without theological substance, conceptually vague, mentioning a lot hurriedly and hastily, using a crude and odd language].

¹⁰³See *ibid.*, p. 86.

sensation in Germany"¹⁰⁴. In this context, Rose gave a remarkable account of the logistical problems which aggravated attempts to study current cultural developments beyond the British Isles.

So perfectly indifferent are we in England to foreign literature, that small works never come from abroad, unless specially sent for - and then, as it is a matter quite out of the common way, if a dozen pamphlets are to be got together, there is a confusion, delay and difficulty, beyond imagination.¹⁰⁵

In the centre of that disputation, to which Rose alluded, stood the Supernaturalist divine August Hahn (1792-1863)¹⁰⁶. He held *ordentliche* professorships in Königsberg (1819), Leipzig (1827) and Breslau (1834). In 1843, he was made *General-Superintendent* in Silesia. In the period of this ecclesiastical office, he founded the *Kirchlicher Anzeiger* and edited a hymn book (1857).

In his inaugural disputation at Leipzig (*De rationalismi qui dicitur vera indole, et qua cum Naturalismo contineatur ratione*), which took place in 1827, a year earlier than Rose indicated, Hahn bluntly declared Rationalism the death of Christianity and put his foot even deeper in it by a drastic call for the expulsion of Rationalists from the Church. Naturally, Hahn's disputation roused a storm of indignation among both his new faculty at Leipzig and the clergy in Saxony who at that time were still predominantly Rationalist. The counter-attack to Hahn's public rejection of Rationalism was led by the Dean of his own faculty, Wilhelm Traugott Krug (1770-1842)¹⁰⁷ and by his main opponent during the academic disputation, Johann

¹⁰⁴Rose, *Discourses*, second edition, p. xix.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p. xix.

¹⁰⁶On August Hahn see *RGG* 3, vol. 3 (1959), col. 28.

¹⁰⁷On Wilhelm Traugott Krug see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 14-15.

Friedrich Röhr (1777-1848),¹⁰⁸ General-Superintendent of Weimar and the chief representative of ecclesiastical Rationalism. Röhr's own Rationalist system was later exposed to devastating criticism by Karl August von Hase (1800-1890)¹⁰⁹, one of the leading church historians in nineteenth-century Germany. In 1827, however, as a young *Privatdozent* at Leipzig, Hase himself belonged to those who came out strongly against Hahn. Unflustered by the hostile reaction his disputation kindled, Hahn shortly afterwards published a statement to the Evangelical Church in Saxony and Prussia in which he went a step further, speaking of the Rationalists as the "inner enemies", who were entirely to be held responsible for the "innere Zerworfenheit der evangelischen Kirche und ihr Verfall im allgemeinen"¹¹⁰. Convinced that the Church had been allowing their subversive activities for far too long, Hahn's appeal to the Rationalists within the Church was quite unequivocal.

Glaubt ihr nicht an das Evangelium, sondern nur das, was darin nach euern Ansichten beliebt, so sagt es doch offen, die evangelische Kirche wird euch mit Schmerz entlassen, weil sie in euch Irrende sehen muß, die Gotteswort für Menschenwort halten (1Thess. 2,13.), aber sie wird euch doch lieber aus ihrer Mitte entlassen, als zurückhalten,, nachdem ihr ihren Glauben und Leben entfremdet seyd.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸On Johann Friedrich Röhr see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 17-20, *RGG* 3, vol. 5 (1961), cols 1136-1137.

¹⁰⁹On Karl August von Hase see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 39-41, *RGG* 3, vol. 3 (1959), col. 85.

¹¹⁰August Hahn, *An die Evangelische Kirche zunächst in Sachsen und Preußen. Eine offene Erklärung* (Leipzig: Fr. Chr. Wilh. Vogel, 1827), [To the Evangelical Church first of all in Saxony and Prussia. A public statement], p. 11. [inner discord within the Evangelical Church and her decline in general].

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 10. [If you do not believe in the Gospel but only in what suits your opinion of it, just say it openly; the Evangelical Church regretfully will dismiss you since she has to regard you as mistaken for taking the word of man for the word of God (1 Thess 2,13), but she would rather

In his thesis, Hahn argued that contemporary Rationalism basically took the same standpoint as the radical Naturalists and Deists in England, Holland, France and elsewhere had done.¹¹² It is therefore absolutely consistent with that presupposition that Hahn could only think of one appropriate conclusion for staunch Rationalists.

Versuchet es doch, was schon vor euch einige versucht haben, eine Kirche der natürlichen Religion zu gründen, predigt euren Gott, der sich nur durch seine stummen Werke und durch die Sprache in eurem Gewissen offenbaret, dienet ihm durch Tugendeifer und suchet euch redlich den Himmel zu verdienen, und bewahret die Hoffnung der Unsterblichkeit, die ihr mit uns nicht auf die Auferstehung Jesus gründet! Ihr werdet dann aufrichtig seyn und gewissenhaft handeln, erscheinen als die, welche ihr seyd und nicht einen Namen führen, den ihr ohne Vorwurf euch nicht aneignen könnet. Wir wollen und werden euch nicht verachten und verdammen, das ziemt den Christen nicht, welcher das Gericht dem Herrn überläßt, sondern wir wünschen, daß ihr den Frieden findet, den wir allein in dem Evangelium von Jesus Christus, Gottes- und Menschensohne, finden.¹¹³

For Hahn, Rationalists simply could be not regarded any longer as Christians, at least not as Evangelical Christians. The evidence for this

dismiss you from her midst than hold back since you have become estranged from her faith and life.].

¹¹²See *ibid.*, p. x.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 10-11. [Do try what some have already tried before you, to establish a church of natural religion: preach your God, who only reveals himself through his dumb works and through the voice in your conscience; serve him with the zeal of virtue and seek genuinely to earn heaven, and retain the hope of immortality which you unlike us do not found on the resurrection of Jesu! You then will be sincere and act conscientiously, appear as those you really are and will not have a name which you without reproach cannot acquire. We do not want and will not hold you in contempt nor condemn you. That does not suit a Christian who leaves judgement to the Lord, but we wish that you might find that peace which we only find in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, son of God and son of man.].

assertion he attempted to supply in the final part of his statement, where in a short synopsis, he compared the fundamental principles of the Evangelical faith with some selected opinions of Wegschneider and Röhr as the two protagonists of contemporary Rationalism. The first example which Hahn had chosen for the illustration of his allegations went right to the very heart of the Protestant system: in contrast to the *Sola Scriptura* of the Reformation, the hermeneutical principle which elevated scripture as the only rule and norm of the Christian doctrine, Röhr is quoted as maintaining

Beym Rationalisten entscheidet in Sachen des Glaubens und bei Annahme religiöser Lehrsätze die Vernunft allein. - Die Schrift ist ihm nicht mehr als jedes andere menschliche Buch. Er läßt sie nur gelten, wo sie mit seinen Ueberzeugungen übereinstimmend ist, und zwar nicht als Entscheidungsgrund für dieselben, denn diese sind ihm ihrer Vernunftbeweise wegen wahr, sondern bloß als eine Erläuterung, daß auch Andere, - weise Männer der Vorzeit, so gedacht und geglaubt haben.¹¹⁴

However, by the 1830s, the old type of Supernaturalism had run out of steam; it was above all its peculiar combination of modern critical philosophy and dogmatic conservatism which eventually led to a dead end. Under the shadow of a heated controversy with Steudel, the last chief representative of the old Tübingen school, Strauß was led to a radical questioning of the theological principles of the Supernaturalist system. His savage criticism, notably published in 1837 in the first issue of the *Streitschriften*, finally dealt the public death blow to Supernaturalism. In

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 101. [For the Rationalist, only reason decides in matters of faith and on the agreement of religious dogmas. For him, scripture is nothing more than any other human book. He only accepts scripture as long as it tallies with his convictions, not as the deciding factor for them since those are true because of the proof of reason, but as an explanation that others, wise men of the distant past, have thought and believed.].

the short term, the concept of Supernaturalism might be deemed an ephemeral incident in the history of theological thought. As Hirsch remarked,

Der gesamte Supranaturalismus ... wäre durchaus nicht in der Lage gewesen, mit dem Rationalismus fertig zu werden. Dazu war er ihm innerlich zu verwandt, mit ihm gemeinsam ein Kind der Aufklärungszeit und ihrer Fragestellungen, mit ihm einig in dem Bestreben nach einfacherer Lehre, die den Setzungen der Orthodoxie gegenüber die Freiheit des Christen sich wahrte.¹¹⁵

Yet in spite of its obvious systematic insufficiencies, the lasting historical significance of Supernaturalism lies in the fact that it pulled together the conservative theological and ecclesiastical parties and individuals in Germany in an increasingly powerful counter-movement to the prevailing Rationalism.

¹¹⁵Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, p. 87. [Supernaturalism as such would not have been in a position to cope with Rationalism. It was inwardly too like it, as a child of the Age of Enlightenment and its complex of questions, in agreement with it on the need to create a simpler doctrine which kept the liberty of the Christian as opposed to the theorems of the Orthodoxy.].

3.3 The pious mobilization against Rationalism: the German Revival Movement

The Supernaturalist fight against the predominance of Rationalism was for the time being only an undercurrent in the religious life of early nineteenth-century German Protestantism, since the Enlightenment proved to be too tenacious in its hold on the pulpits and theological faculties. Especially among the liberal bourgeoisie and within the governing bodies of the Church, Rationalism consolidated its secure and strong position. However, the victory of ecclesiastical and theological Rationalism never quite managed entirely to unchurch the bulk of the population. As Heussi explained

Dem Christentum entfremdet war mit den literarischen Führern der Nation nur ein kleiner Teil der Gebildeten. In den übrigen Schichten herrschte eine schlichte, oft tief empfundene Frömmigkeit, rationalistischen, orthodoxen oder pietistischen Gepräges. So war die Frömmigkeit um 1800 keineswegs ausgestorben.¹¹⁶

Moreover, the storm-tossed period of the Napoleonic occupation and the wars of liberation brought forth a new historical awareness, notably marked by a powerful national upturn. This radical change in the *Zeitgeist* helped to overcome the growing religious indifference and by the same token set the agenda of a renewed religious awareness in Germany. The years after 1814 showed, according to Heussi,

¹¹⁶Heussi, *Kompendium*, p. 464. [Only a small part of the cultured, namely the literary leaders of the nation, became estranged from Christianity. Within the remaining levels of society, there predominated a simple, often deeply felt piety of a Rationalist, orthodox or Pietist kind. Thus piety was by no means abandoned around 1800.].

ein stetiges Ansteigen der religiösen Bewegung. Die Frömmigkeit gewann an Stärke und verband sich immer bestimmter mit rückläufigen Bestrebungen: von der Religiösität der Aufklärung lenkte man zum Christentum und schließlich bewußt zu den konfessionellen Ausprägungen der orthodoxen Zeit zurück.¹¹⁷

The nineteenth-century Revival Movement [*Erweckungsbewegung*] was by no means confined to Germany but has to be seen as a religious phenomenon which caught the whole Protestant world; not without justification, the Revival Movement has been called the last great religious movement of recent history¹¹⁸. While the origins and essence of the German Revival are far from being easily comprehensible, Wallmann, one of the present leading German authorities on Pietist studies, has convincingly argued that the influence of the great English Evangelical Movement was probably less decisive than is generally thought.

Es liegt nahe und ist auch versucht worden, die deutsche Erweckung aus der angelsächsischen herzuleiten. Doch zu tief liegen ihre Wurzeln im Boden der deutschen Kirchengeschichte. Wohl das breiteste Wurzelgeflecht stammt aus dem alten Pietismus des 18. Jahrhunderts.¹¹⁹

Almost every German region had witnessed to a greater or lesser extent the spread of the Revival. Yet of the four main centres, Württemberg, Bavaria-

¹¹⁷Ibid. [showed a steady rise in the religious movement. Devotion gained in strength and joined more and more resolutely with backward looking tendencies: from the religiousness of the Enlightenment there was a movement back to Christianity and finally consciously to the confessional characteristics of the orthodox era].

¹¹⁸See Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 197, *RGG* 3, vol 2 (1958), col. 621.

¹¹⁹Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 198. [The idea suggests itself and it has been attempted to derive the German Revival from the Anglo-Saxon one. But it is too deeply rooted in the soil of German ecclesiastical history. The strongest root was probably the old Pietism of the eighteenth century.].

Franken, the Lower Rhine and Mark Brandenburg-Pomerania, it is particularly the last which is of great interest for this case-study, since it was in Prussia that the Revival was transformed from a religious movement into a powerful neo-orthodox church party. Even though the German Revival did not produce anyone who would have stood comparison with Schleiermacher and Hegel, it nevertheless possessed a number of outstanding figures. Characteristic of the Prussian Revival Movement was its close association with both the aristocracy and political conservatism; nowhere else, as Wallmann has maintained, "ist sie in ein so enges Bündnis mit den Mächten des Adels und der politischen Reaktion eingegangen wie in Brandenburg-Pommern"¹²⁰.

At the beginning of the Revival in Prussia stood the Silesian nobleman Baron Hans Ernst von Kottwitz (1757-1843)¹²¹. He became attracted to a pietistic form of religion through contact with the Moravian Brethren (known in Germany as the *Herrnhutter*) ironically while he was a young page in the service of Friedrich the Great.¹²² Through his close connections with the aristocracy and the royal court, Kottwitz came to exercise an immense influence upon the ecclesiastical affairs of his day.

¹²⁰Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 202. [did it have such a close alliance with the power of the aristocracy and forces of political reaction as in Brandenburg-Pomerania].

¹²¹On Baron Hans Ernst von Kottwitz see *RGG* 3, vol. 4 (1960), cols 27-28, Friedrich Wilhelm Kantzenbach, 'Baron Hans Ernst von Kottwitz', in Martin Greschat (ed.), *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte*, 12 vols, vol. 9.1 *Die neueste Zeit* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1985), pp. 73-86, P. Maser, 'Baron Hans Ernst von Kottwitz (1757-1843) und die Erweckungsbewegung des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Kirche im Osten. Studien zur osteuropäischen Kirchengeschichte und Kirchenkunde* 21/22 (1978/79), pp. 126-140.

¹²²On Kottwitz' conversion see Kantzenbach, *Kottwitz*, pp. 77-79.



Baron Hans
Ernst von Kottwitz



Gotttreu August Tholuck



Edward Bouverie Pusey,
engraving, circa 1826

Ein Kavalier in seinem Auftreten, hat dieser ganz untheologische und auch unakademische Mann, dem ein Anflug des schwärmerischen nicht fehlte, zahllosen Menschen die Richtung zu einem bekennenden Christentum gewiesen.¹²³

It is above all due to Kottwitz's contribution that the Revival Movement did not become lost in an enthusiastic sectarianism but advanced gradually to become a powerful force within the Church. As "Patriarch der Berliner Erweckung"¹²⁴, Kottwitz's influence reached a whole generation of theologians and preachers.¹²⁵ Thus, in spite of Schleiermacher's opposition, he provided his young *protégé* Tholuck with an academic career in Berlin. Kottwitz also had a hand in the appointments of Hengstenberg and Johannes Evangelista Goßner (1773-1858)¹²⁶. He was, furthermore, a source of inspiration to the Lutheran theologians Richard Rothe (1799-1867)¹²⁷, who is known in Britain for a collection of devotional essays, *Stille Stunden* (1872, translated into English in 1886 under the title *Still Hours*), Rudolf Stier (1800-1862)¹²⁸, and Johann Hinrich Wichern (1808-1881)¹²⁹, the founder of the German *Innere Mission*¹³⁰. The philosopher

¹²³Ibid., col. 27. [Always a gentleman in his manners, this entirely untheological and unacademic man, who had every enthusiasm and had pointed innumerable people in the direction of a confessing Christendom.].

¹²⁴Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 238. [patriarch of the Revival in Berlin].

¹²⁵See Kantzenbach, *Kottwitz*, pp. 83-84.

¹²⁶On Johannes Evangelista Goßner see *RGG* 3, vol 2 (1958), cols 1696-1697.

¹²⁷On Richard Rothe see *RGG* 3, vol. 5 (1961), cols 1197-1199, Dietrich Rössler, 'Richard Rothe', in Martin Greschat (ed.), *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte*, 12 vols, vol. 9,1 *Die neueste Zeit* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1985), pp. 254-262.

¹²⁸On Rudolf Stier see *RGG* 3, vol. 6 (1962), col. 372.

¹²⁹On Johann Hinrich Wichern see *RGG* 3, vol. 6 (1962), cols 1678-1680.

¹³⁰On the *Innere Mission* see *ODCC*, p. 833: "The term covers all voluntary religious, charitable, and social work organized within the Protestant Churches in Germany apart from the actual parish work."

Fichte even gave him the guardianship of his son. On the day of Kottwitz's death (13 May 1843), Neander was reported to have opened his lectures with the following words:

Ich kann nicht unterlassen, heute zunächst des teuren Mannes zu gedenken, den Gott aus diesem Leben abgerufen hat, des Barons von Kottwitz, der als ein selten begnadigter Zeuge des Evangeliums hier in Berlin vielen Seelen ein Führer zu dem Herrn Jesus Christus gewesen ist.¹³¹

Unlike Bavaria-Franken, the Revival Movement in Prussia did not quite succeed in monopolising a whole theological faculty with men from its own ranks. At the young aspiring university of Berlin, founded in 1810, for many years, the church historian Johann August Wilhelm Neander (1789-1850) was the only representative of the early Revival who held the breach against such divines as Schleiermacher, Marheineke and Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780-1849)¹³².

Neander, the son of Jewish parents, was born in Göttingen as David Mendel. In 1806, he became a Protestant Christian and after that took the name of the famous Pietist hymn writer [Joachim] Neander (1650-1680). Like Harms and a number of protagonists of the Revival, Neander owed much of his conversion to the influence of Schleiermacher's work. Yet Harms's notion "Der mich zeugte, hatte kein Brot für mich" became

¹³¹Cited in Kantzenbach, *Kottwitz*, p. 85. [Today I cannot refrain from commemorating first of all a very dear man whom God has called from this life, Baron von Kottwitz, who, as an exceptionally blessed witness to the Gospel, had, here at Berlin, been for many souls a guide to the Lord Jesus Christ.].

¹³²On Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette see Rogerson, *Old Testament*, pp. 28-49, RGG 3, vol. 1 (1958), cols 158-159

symptomatic of the Revival's gradual turning away from the father of nineteenth century Protestant theology.¹³³

From 1813 till his death, Neander held a professorship in theology at Berlin where, from a Pietist viewpoint, he eventually made a name for himself as the founder of a new approach to Protestant ecclesiastical history. Against the historical pragmatism of Rationalism, Neander developed a Romantic-Idealist conception of history which focused on the dialectical dimension of the encounter of Christ's spirit with the world's spirit. In accordance with the neo-Pietist framework of the Revival, Neander understood ecclesiastical history as essentially devotional history. His often quoted maxim *Pectus est, quod facit theologum* gave expression to an understanding of theology that was exclusively concerned with religious subjectivity. Neander's voluminous master piece, the *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche* (1825-1845, 6 vols.)¹³⁴ was distinguished by a comprehensive study of original sources, but the hermeneutical preference for focusing on religious individuals was open to the criticism that he dissolved ecclesiastical history into a collection of pious biographies.¹³⁵ It was largely due to the contribution of Rose's younger brother Henry John Rose (1800-1873) that Neander's *Allgemeine Geschichte*, the standard work of German neo-Pietist ecclesiastical history, became available to English readers. In 1831, he published the translation of the first volume under the title *History of the Christian Religion and Church during the three first centuries*. "Neander's work", wrote the translator in his preface, "is distinguished in general by his candour and acuteness, his diligence and

¹³³See Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 197-198. [The one who begot me did not have bread for me.].

¹³⁴[General History of the Christian Religion and Church].

¹³⁵See Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 221.

fidelity, of which I have some right to speak from having verified all his quotations"¹³⁶.

The second volume of Neander's *Kirchengeschichte* was translated by Rose in 1841. The *British Critic*, on the one hand, stressed the academic quality of the work as such but was in the same breath very careful to distance itself from the opinions of the author, for Neander, as the reviewer did not say, was not a member of the Church of England. In its cautiously weighed phrasing, this short note speaks volumes for the ambivalent reception of German scholarship in nineteenth-century England:

The second volume of Mr. Rose's translation of Neander's Church History (Rivingstons) is a work of very great labour and care. Of course neither Mr. Rose nor ourselves follow Neander in his doctrinal speculations, which are only bearable from a consideration of the disadvantages under which their author lies as being a Lutheran or Evangelical. But the volume is very valuable notwithstanding, of great service to the ecclesiastical student, with much more to instruct in the way of facts than to confuse in the way of theories.¹³⁷

Neander has been called a theologian of the transition from the Enlightenment to the Revival.¹³⁸ There are indeed some rather conspicuous elements in Neander's approach which gave him an unique position among the exponents of the Revival. Although he regarded the outcome of 'ungodly' Rationalism as one of the most acute challenges within the Church, he nevertheless showed a surprisingly open interest in the results of biblical criticism. Since from Neander's Romantic-individualistic viewpoint everything served in the end to show the Christian faith in

¹³⁶Neander, *History*, p. viii.

¹³⁷*British Critic*, vol. 31, 1842.

¹³⁸See Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, p. 117.

constantly increasing clarity, there were no absolutely wrong positions as such. In his opposition to Rationalism, Neander by and large remained loyal all his life to his deeply rooted eirenic temper and that prevented him from succumbing to the more extreme and uncompromising temper which in the late 1820s became characteristic of the Revival's progress. Thus he strongly disapproved of the increasingly abusive anti-Rationalist crusade waged by Hengstenberg in his *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, and even felt forced eventually to terminate altogether his collaboration with that journal. By the same token, he was one of the few theologians who, regardless of his own theological opposition, in 1837 publicly objected to the overt condemnation of Strauß' *Leben Jesu*. However, those relativising tendencies did nothing to belittle Neander's reputation within neo-Pietist circles. On the contrary, his universally acknowledged academic integrity and deep personal piety made him one of the most esteemed pillars of the early German Revival. Pusey, who was introduced to Neander on his first visit to Berlin, remembered him in the second part of his *Enquiry* as a divine "of very deep piety, comprehensive views, and genuine orthodoxy, one possessed of a thorough knowledge of human nature and of a very extensive and judicious reading"¹³⁹.

The years between the Congress of Vienna and the July Revolution (1815-1830) are generally regarded as the Revival's heyday, and by the time of Rose's visit to Germany the movement had become a powerful church party within the life of German Protestantism. Complex and pluralistic as the German Revival was from a religious and organizational viewpoint, it was above all its strong opposition to the Rationalism of the Enlightenment

¹³⁹Pusey, *Enquiry*, pt. 2, p. 399.

which Wallmann has identified as one of its few defining characteristics.¹⁴⁰ The anti-Rationalist framework of the Revival thus supplied the old academic Supernaturalism with new strength, and it was this powerful alliance which in the long term led finally to the overthrow of the predominance of Rationalism in German Protestantism. As a consequence of the concentration of theological conservatism in Germany, the whole quality of the public exchanges with the Rationalist parties had now noticeably developed into bitter and uncompromising trench warfare in the fight for supremacy within the Church.

In der Erweckungsfrömmigkeit hat, erstens, das Verhältnis zur Bibel, die dem Supranaturalismus der Träger der übernatürlichen unmittelbaren Offenbarung Gottes ist, eine den Umgang mit Gott bestimmende, Herz und Gemüt nahlende Lebensfülle, die man bei den von verstandesmäßigen Reflexionen ausgehenden Supernaturalisten nicht findet ... Zweitens, die übernatürliche und unmittelbare absolute Kausalität des persönlichen Schöpfers und Weltregierers, welche vom Supranaturalismus als Grundlage seiner Religionslehre behauptet wird, ist den Trägern der Erweckungsbewegung eine in den Schickungen des allgemeinen wie des persönlichen Lebens gegenwärtig erfahrene Wirklichkeit, ein Wille, zu dem sie rufen und der ihnen antwortet, dessen Dasein zu leugnen nichts als Blindheit und Narrheit ist ... Der blasse, sich in allgemeine Erwägungen verlierende Streit des Supranaturalismus wider den Rationalismus wird durch die hereinströmenden Wogen pietistischer Frömmigkeit mit Blut und Leidenschaft erfüllt.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰See Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 197.

¹⁴¹Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 88-89. [It is the renewal of Pietist devotion in the framework of the Revival Movement against the background of the events of the day which supplied Supernaturalism with strength. First, in the Revival Movement, the relationship to the Bible, which for Supernaturalism was the bearer of supernatural and immediate divine revelation, determined the dealings with God built up to a fulness of heart and feeling, which one could not find in the Supernaturalism which came from rational reflection ... Second, the supernatural and immediate absolute causality of the personal creator and ruler of the world, which Supernaturalism asserted as basis of its religious doctrine, for the bearers of the Revival is a reality which is experienced at present in the general sense of destiny as much as in the personal life; a will to which they call and who

Yet in spite of those epoch-making developments, Rose nevertheless presented an image of the German opposition to Rationalism which had remained stationary in the condition of the timid and feeble endeavours of the late eighteenth-century Supranaturalism of a Storr or a Reinhard. The advance of the German Revival, as it showed itself in the 1820s as a religious entity, simply did not occur at all in Rose's account of the state of German Protestantism. In the *Discourses*, Neander, who was at that time undoubtedly the most eminent academic representative of the German *Erweckung* and with regard to Berlin was certainly the most serious orthodox counterbalance to Schleiermacher and Hegel, saw himself treated in the same way; there was no reference to him whatsoever. In fact, the only exponent of the Revival whom Rose did mention in passing was the young Tholuck, though he labelled him as 'somewhat enthusiastic'.

Let me again here bear my testimony to the high merits of Storr, whose school has been of the highest service in Germany, nor must I omit to mention the respectable names of Reinhard and Stäudlin. Krummacher, again, Lücke, Tholuck (though he is somewhat enthusiastic) and Winer, have expressed their horror at the system [of the 'naturalizing' party]. Meyer, Kelle, Himly, and many writers in the Magazine of Flatt and Süsskind, and the latter writer himself, have all opposed parts of it ... Some of the metaphysical writers have lately also enlisted themselves on the side of Christianity. Köppen, in his *Philosophie des Christenthums*, (Leips. 1813.) vol. II. p. 30. has attempted to show the truth of the doctrine of Original Sin on philosophical grounds. A celebrated physician of Leipsic, Dr. Heinroth, has annoyed the Rationalists dreadfully ... by a treatise on Anthropology, in which his views of the intellectual and moral part of man are entirely at variance with them, and in unison with the orthodox notions.¹⁴²

answers them, and to deny whose existence was nothing but blindness and foolishness ... The colourless fight of Supernaturalism against Rationalism, lost in general considerations, became filled with blood and passion through the streaming surges of Pietist devotion.]

¹⁴²Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, pp. 168-169.

All this is not to argue that Rose was simply ignorant of the actual developments in Germany. As he himself stated in the *Appendix*, "there had been and still is a party of admirable and learned men in Germany ... which has always held the opinions usually called orthodox"¹⁴³. The analysis of his sermons has clearly shown that, as much as one would expect under the circumstances of that time, Rose was generally remarkably well acquainted even with the current German theological literature. Moreover, as late as 1825, one could hardly imagine that Rose, or indeed anyone with a professional interest in theology and ecclesiastical politics, would have been able to travel through Germany without noticing that, due to the new Romantic *Zeitgeist*, the regenerated neo-orthodoxy of the Revival had powerfully regained ground in Protestantism and, therefore, Rationalism had gradually ceased to maintain its supremacy as unchallenged as it was by the turn of the century. One should take into consideration that, unlike Idealism and even Schleiermacher's theology, the Revival was not confined to a cultured elite but became a dynamic mass movement which had its *Sitz im Leben* not primarily in the lecture theatres and grand salons but in ordinary parishes and prayer meetings.

However, only occasionally, mostly in the footnotes of the edited version of his sermons, did Rose actually deem it necessary to qualify his sweeping condemnation and allowed himself to indicate credit where he felt it was due. That those rare acknowledgements turned out to be quite selective, almost exclusively in favour of the older school of not 'high' but certainly rather 'dry' Supernaturalism, makes it difficult not to think of Rose's silence, over both the German Revival and the advance of a forceful neo-orthodox church party, in terms of gross historical misrepresentation. Yet,

¹⁴³Rose, *Appendix*, p. 14.

what must be observed is the deeply church political and even pastoral purpose of the *Discourses*, which, after all, were designed as sermons in the first instance. However academic the occasion which constituted the background for their delivery, Rose did not content himself with presenting merely a contemporary historical documentary on his subject. It was rather his great concern about the implications of the bogey of theological Rationalism for the troubled religious life in England that determined his polemical perception of the state of Protestant Germany and thus prevented him from acknowledging appropriately the many signs of improvement in German religious life.

3.4 The Confessional Neo-Orthodox declaration of war against Rationalism: Ernst Hengstenberg and the beginning of the 'Evangelische Kirchenzeitung'

Reading the beginning of Johannes Bachmann's biography of Hengstenberg, one cannot help being strikingly reminded of Burgon's endeavours his *Lives of Twelve Good Men* to highlight Rose's significance as one of the forgotten forerunners of the nineteenth-century Anglican revival. In what Bachmann likewise deemed an unjust race with history's 'short-term memory', he passionately sought to preserve the memory of Hengstenberg as the theologian who

als einer der Ersten und mit einem durchgreifenden Erfolge wie Wenige, die evangelische Theologie aus dem Wüstensande des Rationalismus wieder zurückgeführt hat zu den lebendigen Quellen der göttlichen Offenbarung und durch Wiederanknüpfung an das Schriftverständnis der Reformatoren, sie wieder eingefügt hat in den großen Zusammenhang der auf Gottes Wort gegründeten christlichen Theologie aller Jahrhunderte.¹⁴⁴

Bachmann, through Hengstenberg's recommendation professor in theology at Rostock (1858 to 1888), devoted himself assiduously in his later years to the rehabilitation of his former mentor as, to use Burgon's epitaph on Rose,

¹⁴⁴Johannes Bachmann, *Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg. Sein Leben und Wirken nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*, 3 vols, vol. 1 (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1876-1880; vol. 3 completed by T. Schmalenbach, 1892), p. vi. [What could be deemed more appropriate than to call to mind the memory of a theologian, who as one of the first, and with the far-reaching success of few, had led back the Evangelical Church from the desert sand of Rationalism to the living springs of divine revelation, and had reinserted her in the great context of that Christian theology of all centuries which was founded in God's Word through a readoption of the Reformation's understanding of Scripture.].

the 'restorer of the old paths'. The result, his *Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg. Sein Leben und Wirken nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*¹⁴⁵, a meticulous biography in three volumes, is even more than a hundred years after its publication still regarded as the standard work on the controversial editor of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*.

Hengstenberg was born on 20 October 1802 in the village of Fröndenberg, near Unna in Westphalia. The son of Karl Hengstenberg, a Calvinist pastor, the young Hengstenberg was educated at home under the supervision of his father. Nothing of the Rationalist framework in which he was brought up indicated Hengstenberg's later emergence as one of the most notorious but also influential neo-orthodox controversialists in nineteenth-century Germany:

Hengstenberg war von seinem Vater, einem der Aufklärung zugetanen Pfarrer, in tiefer Gottesfurcht und strengem, reinem Ernst erzogen worden und schien zu einem philologisch-historisch arbeitenden Gelehrten von freier christlicher Gesinnung zu entwickeln.¹⁴⁶

In 1819, Hengstenberg matriculated at the recently founded university of Bonn¹⁴⁷, to study classics, oriental philology and philosophy. He completed

¹⁴⁵[Ernst Wilhlem Hengstenberg. His Life and Work according to published and unpublished Sources].

¹⁴⁶Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, p. 119. [Hengstenberg was brought up by his father, who was attached to the Enlightenment, in deep fear of God and austere, pure earnestness and seemed to mature into a openminded scholar of history and philology.].

¹⁴⁷In 1818, Bonn became the only university in the Rhineland in place of the three ancient Catholic universities at Cologne (1388), Trier (1473), Mainz (1477) and the Reformed university at Duisburg (1665) which were dissolved in 1798.



Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg

his intensive oriental studies under Georg Wilhelm Freytag (1788-1861) the celebrated Arabist who also privately instructed Pusey in Arabic¹⁴⁸, in 1823 receiving a doctorate in philosophy. Although as a student Hengstenberg attended hardly any theological lectures in Bonn, he was determined to become a theologian rather than a linguist. Thus he waived an offer to specialise in Arabic studies. However, his intention to prepare for an academic career at the theological faculty in Berlin came in the first instance to nothing when he failed to obtain a scholarship and for the period of a year he accepted instead a post as language tutor at Basel.

That year turned out to be an important cross-road for Hengstenberg's spiritual formation. In the early nineteenth century, Basel was the centre of the *Deutsche Christentumsgesellschaft*¹⁴⁹, a Pietist society, founded in 1780 by the Protestant theologian Johann August Urlsperger (1728-1806)¹⁵⁰ who sought to promote the 'apologetic defence of the Christian truth against Rationalism and Deism'. Among its manifold and diverse activities, the *Deutsche Christentumsgesellschaft* systematically fostered the foundation of numerous Bible and Missionary societies across Europe and thus constituted a powerful nucleus of the Revival Movement.

Ein Reichtum an Persönlichkeiten eines 'charismatischen Zeitalters', selbstständige Zwischenglieder zwischen Barockpietismus und Erweckung tauchte hier auf (Lavater, Jung-Stilling, Oberlin, Prälat Roos und Stiftsprediger K. H. Rieger als Vertreter der Theologie J. A. Bengels u.a.).¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸See Liddon, *Pusey*, vol. 1, p. 105.

¹⁴⁹[German society of Christendom]. On the *Deutsche Christentumsgesellschaft* see *RGG* 3, vol. 1 (1957), cols 1729-1730.

¹⁵⁰On Johann August Urlsperger see *RGG* 3, vol. 6 (1962), col. 1194.

¹⁵¹*RGG* 3, vol. 1 (1957), col. 1729. [Here, a wealth of personalities of a 'charismatic age' emerged, independent links between Baroque Pietism and Revival (such as ...)].

Not before long, Hengstenberg himself, as an employee of the *Basler Missionsgesellschaft* (founded in 1815), came under the strong influence of the *Deutsche Christentumsgesellschaft*. This encounter, as Bachmann maintained, led to a powerful breakthrough of a new Pietist understanding of religion.

Das Jahr in Basel ist nicht vergebens gewesen. Aus dem hoffnungsvollen Orientalisten ist ein rechtschaffener Theologe geworden; aus dem Juenger des Aristoteles, Kant und Fries ein glaeubiger Christ, der in Gottes Wort die Quelle der ewigen Wahrheit gefunden hat und nun von der Begierde brennt, auch andere zu dieser Quelle zu fuehren ... Es ist nicht ein bloßer Wechsel zwischen zwei verschiedenen theoretischen Doctrinen, ein schneller Uebergang von einer kritischen Ansicht zu der entgegengesetzten, wie solcher immerhin als ein Raethsel erscheinen möchte; sondern ein neuer Grund der Ueberzeugung und des Lebens ist errungen in treuem Forschen und in ernstem Kampf.¹⁵²

Bachmann's account of Hengstenberg's conversion was later echoed by Hirsch who referred to the Basel episode as a "Durchbruch, ziemlich nach Art des alten Hallischen Pietismus"¹⁵³. A modern critical response is more likely to understand Hengstenberg's religious 'breakthrough' as the result of a gradual process which was marked rather by conscious theological

¹⁵²Bachmann, *Hengstenberg*, vol. 1, pp. 170-171. [The year in Basel was not in vain. The promising orientalist became an upright theologian; the disciple of Aristotle, Kant and Fries became a faithful Christian who found in God's Word the spring of eternal truth and who was now burning to lead others also to that spring. The forecourt was left and the entry into the sanctum had taken place. It was not a mere change between two different theoretical doctrines, a quick transition from a critical attitude to the opposite view, as such at least like a riddle may appear, but as a new foundation of conviction and life gained in faithful seeking and in serious fight.].

¹⁵³Hirsch *Geschichte*, vol. 5, p. 120. [breakthrough quite in the manner of the old Halle Pietism].

reflection than by a sudden conversion experience.¹⁵⁴ Within this development, however, Basel was the place where Hengstenberg became profoundly engrossed in the exploration of theological literature (mainly Melancthon's *Loci communes* and several works by Luther, Calvin, Neander and Tholuck). In their doctoral theses on Hengstenberg, both Anneliese Kriege and Wolfgang Kramer have shown that he did not develop his more rigid opposition to the Rationalist methods of biblical interpretation before he came to Berlin.¹⁵⁵

Hengstenberg returned to Germany in 1824 where he was now able to translate his original academic intentions into action. Already in the same year he submitted his *Habilitationsschrift* in Berlin. At that time, a *Habilitation* in philosophy was at most German universities a prerequisite for gaining a Licentiate in theology. In the following year, Hengstenberg received his *Lic. theol.* (16 April 1825) and started immediately to give lectures on Old Testament exegesis. As Joachim Mehlhausen has detected, in the twenty *Theses theologicae* of his licentiate thesis, the influence of the Revival Movement was already unmistakably perceptible.¹⁵⁶ Hengstenberg's understanding of biblical exegesis now was fundamentally determined by a conservative biblical orthodoxy which bound the validity of the interpretation of both the Old and New Testaments exclusively to the

¹⁵⁴See Anneliese Kriege, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirchenzeitung unter der Redaktion Ernst-Wilhelm Hengstenbergs (vom 1. Juli 1827 bis zum 1. Juni 1869). Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (doctoral thesis, University of Bonn, 1958), pp. 20-21, Joachim Mehlhausen, Hengstenberg, in *TRE*, vol. 15 (1986), p. 40.

¹⁵⁵See, Kriege, *Geschichte*, p. 20, Wolfgang Kramer, *Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, die Evangelische Kirchenzeitung und der theologische Rationalismus* (doctoral thesis, University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1972), p.6.

¹⁵⁶See Mehlhausen, *Hengstenberg*, p. 40.

rebirth in faith. In the fourth and fifth theses Hengstenberg argued that the messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, including Isaiah 53 were real divine prophecies, which expressed one and the same idea of the Messiah irrespective of temporal circumstances:

IV. Idea Messiae in V.T. non est humanum commentum, sed vere divina; haec idea apud omnes omnium temporum prophetas eadem est; quamvis illi apud singulos plus minusve humanae imbecilitatis adhaerat.

V. Verbis vim inferunt, qui C. LIII Jesaiae de Messia agere nolunt.¹⁵⁷

Moreover, in the Licentiate theses, the uncompromising fight of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* against Rationalism in all its forms was fully anticipated. Philosophy, in its independence from theology, not only denied the possibility of recognizing God but was altogether dismissed as idolatrous, while the 'new pelagianism' of the Enlightenment was accused of dissolving the difference between Christianity and heathenism:

XI. Philosophi, qui supra Christum sapere volunt, idolatrae sunt.

XII. Ratio humana coeca est in rebus divinis.

XVI. Systema Pelagii, si, uti nostris temporibus factum est, accuratius et principiis accomodatius, quam ab ipso Pelagio, proponitur, discrimen inter religionem Christianum et religiones gentiles tollit.¹⁵⁸

Hengstenberg soon came in close contact with the leading circles of Berlin's Revival Movement. Neander especially exercised a profound influence on his younger colleague. Under his patronage, Hengstenberg

¹⁵⁷Cited in Bachmann, *Hengstenberg*, vol. 1, p. 333.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 333-334.

was introduced to such pillars of Prussia's religious conservatism as Baron von Kottwitz and the three Gerlach brothers, Leopold (1790-1861)¹⁵⁹, Ernst Ludwig (1795-1877)¹⁶⁰, and Otto (1801-1849)¹⁶¹. These acquaintances not only turned out to Hengstenberg's advantage in his academic career but helped to provide him with a place in the forefront of a renewed ecclesiastical and theological orthodoxy. Hengstenberg's personal ties to the aristocratic society of Berlin's Revival were further deepened through his marriage to Therese von Quast (1812-1861) in 1829.

In 1826, Hengstenberg became *außerordentlicher Professor* at Berlin. His controversial temper, however, did not do any good to his prospects for an immediate promotion to an established chair. Marheineke and Karl Freiherr vom Stein zum Altenstein (1770-1840), from 1817 to 1838 *Kultusminister*¹⁶² in Prussia, raised their objections to Hengstenberg as a unsuitable candidate mainly on the grounds of a number of public controversies which arose from Hengstenberg's increasingly pugnacious journalistic activities such as in *Einige Worte über die Nothwendigkeit der Überordnung des äußeren Wortes über das innere, nebst Stellen aus Luthers Schriften*¹⁶³ (1825). Von Altenstein took offence in particular to a remarkably frank public statement by Hengstenberg in 1826 concerning a recent royal ministerial order on mysticism, Pietism and separatism.

¹⁵⁹On Leopold von Gerlach see *RGG* 3, vol. 2 (1958), cols 1429-1430.

¹⁶⁰On Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach *RGG* 3, vol. 2 (1958), cols 1430-1431, Helmut Berding, 'Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach', in Martin Greschat (ed.), *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte*, 12 vols vol. 9.1 *Die neueste Zeit I* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1985), pp. 243-253.

¹⁶¹On Otto von Gerlach see *RGG* 3, vol. 2 (1958), col. 1431.

¹⁶²[minister of education and art].

¹⁶³[some words on the necessity of the precedence of the external Word over the internal together with references from Luther's writings].

Among orthodox churchmen, however, those early controversies only helped to enhance Hengstenberg's reputation as a valiant spokesman for the cause of the Revival and, not least through Baron Kottwitz' intervention, von Altenstein eventually was forced to overcome his inhibitions and in 1828 Hengstenberg became *Ordinarius*¹⁶⁴ for biblical exegesis, a post which he held for more than forty years until his death. Ironically, with this appointment, Hengstenberg became the direct successor of de Wette, whose work in Berlin, as Rogerson argued, "inaugurated a new era in critical Old Testament scholarship"¹⁶⁵. De Wette's chair had remained vacant since 1819 when he was, not least through Baron Kottwitz' intervention, once again dismissed by Friedrich Wilhelm III, for writing a letter of sympathy to the mother of Karl Ludwig Sand (1795-1820), a theological student and radical *Burschenschafter*¹⁶⁶, who on 23 March 1819 murdered the diplomat and dramatist August von Kotzebue (born 1761) for being a 'reactionary enemy of German unity and liberty'. Rogerson, struck by the haphazard way in which the course of scholarship can be affected by deaths and appointments, makes an "idle, although interesting" speculation about how different the course of nineteenth-century Old Testament criticism might have been under a different constellation of persons:

Suppose, further, that the letter of sympathy written by de Wette to the mother of Karl Ludwig Sand had never been intercepted by the Prussian secret police, that de Wette had not been dismissed from Berlin in 1819, and that the conservative Hengstenberg had not eventually filled de Wette's chair. How different German Old Testament scholarship might have been! The theories of the history of Israelite religion presented so brilliantly by Wellhausen in 1818 might have been established 40 years earlier, and the conservative counter-attack against the critical method mounted by Hengstenberg

¹⁶⁴[professor who occupied an established chair].

¹⁶⁵Rogerson, *Old Testament*, p. 28.

¹⁶⁶[member of a student fraternity].

from 1830 to 1860 might never have taken off. In England, if Nicoll had died in 1858 instead of 1828, would Pusey have been able to exert the influence that he did against the critical method in England?¹⁶⁷

Hengstenberg's strong opposition to the advance of liberal biblical scholarship decisively determined his exegetical work at Berlin. His many writings¹⁶⁸, which included commentaries on both the Old and New Testaments, were driven by a restless urge to prove the unity, consistency and infallibility of the Bible as a whole. Yet, in his endeavours to turn the clock of Biblical scholarship back to the state of seventeenth-century Orthodoxy, the churchman eclipsed the scholar. In a slating review, Pusey's associate during his visit to Bonn, Heinrich Georg August Ewald (1803-1875), whom Rogerson emphatically has praised as "one of the greatest critical Old Testament scholars of all time"¹⁶⁹ once sharply commented on Hengstenberg and his writings:

When one has read one of Hengstenberg's thick books, one has really read them all. Only two desires motivate him: the delusion that he honours Christ and the Bible better than most other contemporary scholars, and second, the obsession of crying out against 'Rationalists'.¹⁷⁰

Hengstenberg's categorical opposition to the results of modern critical scholarship seemed already to his contemporaries an untimely tilt at windmills, and before long his exegetical works fell into oblivion:

¹⁶⁷Rogerson, *Old Testament*, p. 4.

¹⁶⁸Among those works which were also translated into English are *Christologie des Alten Testaments* (4 vols, 1829-1835), *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament* (3 vols, 1831-1839), *Die Authentie des Daniel* (1831), *Die Authentie des Pentateuch* (part 1 in 1836).

¹⁶⁹Rogerson, *Old Testament*, p. 91.

¹⁷⁰Cited in *ibid.*, p. 103.

Hengstenberg ignoriert die 'reale Geschichtlichkeit des Alten Testaments' und bildet aus dem Pentateuch, der für ihn 'die einzige Quelle ist', ein geschichtsloses 'überschaubares Lehrgebäude'. Nicht der konsequente Verzicht auf die neueren exegetischen Methoden, sondern dieser Mangel im Geschichtsverständnis ist für Hengstenbergs exegetische Arbeiten kennzeichnend und hat ihnen auch in der Tradition des Biblizismus nur eine sehr geringe Nachwirkung ermöglicht.¹⁷¹

More than for his contribution in the field of Old Testament scholarship, Hengstenberg's complex place in the history of German Protestantism is rooted in the enormous influence which he enjoyed for decades on both ecclesiastical and political conservatism in Germany as editor of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*. It was above all Hengstenberg's uncompromising journalistic crusade against all forms of theological Rationalism and Liberalism which

breiten protestantischen Volkskreisen das Mißtrauen gegen die historische Bibelkritik eingepflanzt, historische Kritik mit dem Unglauben identifiziert hat. Hengstenbergs bedingungslosem Gehorsam gegenüber der Autorität von Bibel und Bekenntnis entsprach die politische Haltung seiner Kirchenzeitung: sie hat unentwegt auf der Seite der preußischen Konservativen gestanden¹⁷².

¹⁷¹Mehlhausen, *Hengstenberg*, p. 41. [Hengstenberg ignores the 'real historical nature of the Old Testament' and forms from the Pentateuch, which for him is the 'only source', an ahistorical, easily comprehensible, system of theories. Characteristic of Hengstenberg's exegetical works is not so much the consistent renunciation of the latest exegetical methods as that lack of awareness of history which allowed them only a minor after-effect even in the tradition of biblicism.].

¹⁷²Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 222-223. [imbued the wide bulk of Protestantism with the mistrust of historico-biblical criticism, which identified historical criticism with unbelief. Hengstenberg's unquestioning obedience to the authority of Bible and creed corresponded with the political position of his *Kirchenzeitung*: it had always been on the side of the Prussian conservatives.].

Founded in 1827, the *Kirchenzeitung* quickly became the major instrument for the systematic transformation of Prussia's Revival from a mere religious movement into a powerful church party. By the 1820s, plans for the foundation of an organ to unite the conservative church groups within German Protestantism had been widely discussed for a long time; as Bachmann put it:

der Glaube bedurfte eines Zeitblattes zur Bezeugung und Vertheidigung des Evangeliums. Fast ohne Ausnahme machten sich auch in den politischen und literarischen Blättern der Liberalismus und die Aufklärung des Zeitalters mit ihrer offenen oder versteckten Feindschaft gegen das Christentum breit.¹⁷³

Looking at the state of German ecclesiastical journalism in the first decades of the nineteenth century, we see that the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* was preceded only by a few serious 'orthodox' forerunners, such as the *Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Reiche Gottes*¹⁷⁴ and the *Christliche Zeitschrift für Christen, zur Förderung Evangelischen Glaubens und Lebens*¹⁷⁵. Both journals, however, were too one-sided in their content to come up, in the long term, to the expectations of an all-embracing organ for Protestant conservative churchmen; while the former confined itself to the coverage of the many missionary and Bible societies and their activities, the latter was generally regarded as a mere edifying leaflet of mildly Moravian colour.

¹⁷³Bachmann, *Hengstenberg*, vol. 2, p. 62. [Faith required a magazine for the testimony and defence of the Gospel. Almost without exception liberalism and the Enlightenment of the age with their open or veiled hostility towards Christianity planted themselves also in the political and literary papers.].

¹⁷⁴[latest news from the kingdom of God].

¹⁷⁵[Christian magazine for Christians in aid of Evangelical faith and life].

In Bavaria, a Pastor Heinrich Brandt zu Roth founded in 1825 the *Homiletisch-Liturgisches Correspondenzblatt* which Thomasius emphatically praised as an "epochemachendes Ereignis"¹⁷⁶ for the Lutheran Church in Bavaria:

Es war ein Weckruf an das Gewissen der Kirche, der laute helle Posaunenklang eines neuanbrechenden Tages. Gerade auf der Entschlossenheit, mit der es dem Rationalismus entgegentrat, und aus dem kühnen Zeugenmuth, mit dem es für den alten Glauben eintrat, beruhte seine Wirkung. Man kann zwar nicht sagen, wie das Blatt zuweilen selber wähnt, daß es dem Rationalismus bereits den Todesstoß versetzt habe, er lebte noch in den oberen und älteren Schichten der Geistlichkeit fort - aber in der Wurzel hat es doch seine Herrschaft gebrochen und andererseits die vorhandenen evangelischen Elemente ermuthigt, gestärkt und gesammelt; dies war zein ziefaches Verdienst. Von da an ist es besser geworden in der Geistlichkeit und in den Gemeinden.¹⁷⁷

Yet for a long time, the influence of the *Correspondenzblatt* scarcely extended beyond the boundaries of the river Main and what was regarded in some quarters as a bold and brave testimony for Christianity¹⁷⁸ was dismissed elsewhere as "zu bayrisch-eng and zu polemisch derb"¹⁷⁹ to gain a wider circulation.

¹⁷⁶Thomasius, *Wiedererwachen*, p. 190. [epoch-making event].

¹⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 190-191. [It was an alarm call to the conscience of the Church., the loud high sound of the trumpet of a new-breaking day. Its effect was based especially on the determination with which it opposed Rationalism, and on the bold heart with which it stood up for the old faith. One cannot say, as the paper itself occasionally imagined, that it already had dealt the deathblow to Rationalism - for it still lived in the superior and elder ranks of the clergy - but in its roots it had broken its predominance and on the other hand encouraged, strengthened and gathered the existing Evangelical elements. That was its manifold contribution. From then on things became better among the clergy and the parishes.].

¹⁷⁸See *ibid.*, p. 181

¹⁷⁹Bachmann, *Hengstenberg*, vol. 2, p. 62. [too narrowly Bavarian and too polemically coarse].

It was the Gerlach brothers, Otto and Ludwig who finally took it on themselves to translate the idea of a large-scale conservative theological journal into action. In 1827, the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* came into being and enjoyed right from the beginning a quite extraordinary popularity in Germany. On their search for an editor of their project, the Gerlachs made do with Hengstenberg only as the second choice after Tholuck, who was initially clearly favoured, had refused the offer. However, Hengstenberg's editorship proved a true stroke of luck: under his overall control, the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* not only became the much longed-for organ of the German Revival but eventually advanced unchallenged as the most influential ecclesiastical journal in nineteenth-century Germany:

Als Herausgeber der Evangelischen Kirchenzeitung hat er [Hengstenberg] 42 Jahre lang erheblichen Einfluß auf die Kirchenpolitik in Preußen (und darüber hinaus) genommen. Ohne je ein kirchenleitendes Amt innegehabt zu haben gelang es ihm, mit den Mitteln der kirchlichen Publizistik die Kräfte der Reaktion gegen alle Formen des Liberalismus wirksam zu unterstützen; dabei schreckte er auch vor solchen Methoden nicht zurück, die schon seine Zeitgenossen als denunziatorisch empfanden.¹⁸⁰

In giving his own account on the promising start of his journal, Hengstenberg wrote to Pusey on 13 August 1827 as follows:

Die Ev. Kirchenzeitung erfreut sich in Deutschland einer ganz außerordentlichen Theilnahme. Zwanzig Dr. der Theologie sind

¹⁸⁰Mehlhausen, *Hengstenberg*, p. 44. [As editor of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, he [Hengstenberg] exercised for 42 years a far-reaching influence on Prussian church politics (and beyond). Without ever having held a leading ecclesiastical office, he succeeded by means of ecclesiastical publicism in supporting effectively the powers of Reaction against all forms of Liberalism; in that he even did not shy away from methods which already his contemporaries felt as denunciatory.].

unter ihren erklärten Mitarbeitern. Der Absatz ist schon jetzt sehr bedeutend. Es kann ein großes in das ganze Volksleben tief eingreifende Macht werden. Darum will ich auch gerne alle Mühe und Arbeit und alle Kränkungen unternehmen die damit verbunden sind.¹⁸¹

It is significant for the future policy of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* that in the same letter, Hengstenberg tried to use Pusey and his connections for his journalistic endeavours. As Bachmann's account of the infancy of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* suggests, Hengstenberg, at that time, seriously conceived the ambitious idea of crossing the linguistic boundaries and turning his journal into an international bulwark of the Protestant 'orthodox' powers in Europe.

Es ist ein Hauptzweck der Evangelischen Kirchenzeitung aus allen Gegenden der Erde alles mitzutheilen, was in kirchlicher und christlicher Hinsicht nur irgend von Wichtigkeit ist. England ist in dieser Beziehung das reichhaltigste Land, und dennoch fehlt es uns bisjetzt doch an einer hinreichenden Anzahl tüchtiger Correspondenten. Hier rechne ich mit Vertrauen auf Sie, und bei Ihren Verbindungen wird es Ihnen nicht schwer sein, uns durch andere Dasjenige zu verschaffen, was Ihnen etwa, weil Sie von dem Hauptschauplatze der Begebenheiten, von London, entfernt sind, zu geben unmöglich sein sollte. Sie haben die religiösen Verhältnisse Deutschland's so weit kennengelernt, daß Sie gewiß einsehen wie wichtig ein solches Blatt für die ganze religiöse Entwicklung werden kann; thun Sie also, theils aus Liebe zu mir, theils aus Liebe zu der heiligen Sache der wir beide unsere Kräfte geweiht haben, alles was in Ihren Käften steht. Wir wünschen sehr, daß keine Erscheinung im Leben und in der Litteratur unbeachtet an uns vorüber gehe. Fordern Sie daher Ihre Freunde in London und in den Provinzen zu fleißigen Berichten auf; alles kann in Englischer Sprache verfaßt sein; wir laßen es dann hier übersetzen. Schr lieb

¹⁸¹E. W. Hengstenberg to E. B. Pusey, Berlin, 13 August 1827. Pusey House MS. [The Ev. Kirchenzeitung enjoys quite an extraordinary interest in Germany. Twenty doctors of theology are among its acknowledged contributors. The sales are already very significant. It could become a great influence upon the whole life of the nation. Thus I will readily undertake all the trouble and labour and all the insults which are bound up with it.].

wäre es uns, wenn Sie vielleicht auch Verbindungen für uns in Irland und Schottland anknüpfen könnten.¹⁸²

Even though the plans of an English edition of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* came in the end to nothing, Hengstenberg always maintained a strong, almost ecumenical interest in the ecclesiastical state of affairs beyond Germany. Under the title "Mittheilungen aus England von einem Deutschen"¹⁸³, already in the very first issues, there was an extensive column on religious life in England, namely on the many general annual meetings of the various Bible- and Missionary societies in London, which to the correspondent's great astonishment were held rather in ballrooms and even ordinary public houses than in the churches as in Berlin.¹⁸⁴ Yet to his mind, the enormous interest of the English in foreign missions was strangely connected with the deplorable state of Christianity in England itself:

Es ist mir früher immer aufgefallen, warum die Engländer ein so großes Interesse an der Ausbreitung des Christentums in fremden

¹⁸²Ibid. [It is a main purpose of the *Evangelical Kirchenzeitung* to inform from all parts of the world about everything which from an ecclesiastical and Christian view is of any importance. England is in this respect the most varied country and yet we still lack a sufficient number of competent correspondents. Here I count on you with confidence. With your connections you should not find that too difficult to supply us even with that information which you normally might be unable to give because you are too far from the main scene, London. You are familiar enough with religious conditions in Germany to see surely how important such a paper can be for religious development. Thus do everything within your power partly out of love for me and partly out of love for the sacred course we have dedicated ourselves to. We are determined that nothing in life and literature should pass us unnoticed. Therefore ask your friends in London and in the provinces for diligent reports. We would be also most grateful if you possibly could also establish connections for us in Ireland and Scotland.].

¹⁸³[News from England by a German].

¹⁸⁴See *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, vol. 1, No. 5 (1827), p. 39.

Ländern nähmen, und so wenig für ihr eignes Land sorgten. Obgleich mich nun der Augenschein überzeugt hat, daß in London eine Sittenverderbnis zu finden ist, wie vielleicht nirgends in der ganzen Welt, so fehlt es doch gewiß keinem hier an Gelegenheit, an Aufforderungen und Erweckungen, aus dem Schlafe der Sünde aufzustehen; wenn das angebotene Heil verschmäht wird, so kann man getrost dem Beispiel des Apostels Paulus folgen, der von den hartnäckigen Juden zu den Heiden ging.¹⁸⁵

In retrospect, these 'Mittheilungen' in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* are, if anything, an interesting contemporary record of the pastoral and structural problems which deeply beset the Church in the changing society of the England of the Industrial Revolution:

Die Mittel zum christlichen Unterrichte stehen in London mit der Ausdehnung der Stadt in keinem Verhältnisse. Einige Parochieen sind so bevölkert, daß die persönliche Bekanntschaft auch nur mit der Mehrzahl der Pfarrkinder weder dem Pfarrer, noch auch seinen geistlichen Gehülfen möglich ist ... Man findet ausgedehnte Bezirke, wo die ganze Masse von Unwissenheit, Laster und Aberglauben unberührt bleibt von den ordentlichen Anstalten zur Abhülfe des Irrthums in der Religion und der Verderbtheit des Lebens; ihre Bewohner leben in ungestörter Ausübung der Gottlosigkeit, und bestärken sich durch gegenseitiges schlechtes Beispiel in der Verachtung aller religiösen Pflichten. Die gottesdienstlichen Stätten werden von ihnen nicht besucht; sie suchen keinen christlichen christlichen Unterricht; diesen muß man ihnen bringen; soll ein Eindruck auf sie gemacht werden, so muß man sie einladen, ja 'nöthigen hereinzukommen', durch ernste, ausdauernde, geduldige Bemühungen von Männern, die sich nicht scheuen, in die Wohnungen des Lasters und Elends einzudringen, von Thür zu Thür zu gehen und oft zurückgewiesen werden.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵Ibid. [I have noticed already why the English were so much interested in spreading Christianity in foreign countries and cared so little for their own country. Although by close observation I was convinced that there is in London a decline of moral standards probably more than anywhere in the world, there is by no means a lack of opportunities, demands and awakenings, to arise from the sleep of sin; yet if the offer of salvation is spurned, one need have no hesitation to follow the example of the Apostle Paul, who went from the stubborn Jews to the gentiles.].

¹⁸⁶Ibid., p. 323. [In London, the means of Christian education are out of all proportion to the expansion of the city. Some of the parishes are so densely

Yet if the Church of England was spiritually and organisationally ill prepared for the far-reaching changes in nineteenth-century society, the situation in Germany by no means looked any better to the columnist. On the contrary, the medieval parochial system, which had largely remained untouched by the German Reformation¹⁸⁷ became, in particular in the rapidly expanding urban areas, such as Berlin, Frankfurt and Hamburg, an increasing challenge for the Church's pastoral ministry:

London mit seiner 6-7 mal stärkeren Bevölkerung als Berlin hat 128 Pfarren der herrschenden Kirche, in jeder ist ein Pfarrer mit einigen Hilfsgeistlichen, und außer den Pfarrkirchen gibt es noch an 60 Nebenkirchen, alle zur Landeskirche gehörig, deren jede ihren besonderen Geistlichen hat ... Berlin hat dagegen nur 9 Parochieen; die ehemals Reformierten, die Französischen, die Katholische, die Böhmische, und die Mährische Brüdergemeinde und das Militär mögen zusammen etwa ein Zehntel der Bevölkerung ausmachen. Und so möchte wohl der Zustand noch vieler anderer großen Städte Deutschland's, namentlich solcher wie Hamburg, seyn, deren Bevölkerung in neueren Zeiten so bedeutend, wie die von Berlin, gestiegen ist.¹⁸⁸

populated, that for neither the vicar nor the pastoral assistant is a personal acquaintance with the majority of parishoners possible ... One can find extensive parochial districts, where the whole bulk of ignorance, depravity and superstition remains untouched by the proper measures for the remedy of error in religion and depravity of life; their inhabitants live in the undisturbed practice of godlessness, and confirm themselves through mutual bad example in a contempt of all religious duties. The places of divine service are not visited by them, they do not seek Christian education, that has rather to be brought to them; should an impression be made on them one has to invite them, even 'to urge them to come in', through serious, persevering, patient efforts from men who do not shy away from forcing their way into the homes of depravity and squalor, go from door to door and are often turned away.].

¹⁸⁷On the history and significance of the parochial system in the German Lutheran and Reformed churches see Rössler, *Grundriß*, pp. 586-594.

¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 424. [London with its six to seven times bigger population than Berlin has 128 parishes of the established church; in each there is a vicar with some curates, and apart from the parish churches there are also approximately 60 further churches all belonging to the established church, each of them with its own clergyman ... Berlin, on the other hand has only

Only in parenthesis should mention be made of a series of lengthy articles in 1840 on a new English High Church school which arguably can be regarded as one of the first substantial references into the German Protestant reception of the Oxford Movement.¹⁸⁹ Against the background of an editorial policy that was in every respect firmly anti-Catholic, the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* naturally looked with great suspicion upon the theological agenda of the Tractarians, whose extreme Catholic tendencies not only went entirely at the expense of the "Predigt des Wortes und der dadurch erzeugten Glaubensgewißheit"¹⁹⁰ but also refuted clearly the claim that "kein System eine sichere Schutzwehr und ein wirksames Gegengift gegen den Papismus enthalte, als das der Englischen Hochkirche"¹⁹¹. On the whole, the ecclesiological characteristics of the new High Church party in Oxford constituted for the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* a serious threat to the Anglican *via media*.

Obgleich sie [die Oxford Bewegung] nun das System der Englischen Episkopalkirche, nach den Ansichten der hochkirchlichen Partei gedeutet, für die rechte Mitte zwischen den Extremen des Ultraprotestantismus und des Romanismus erklären, so ist doch nicht zu läugnen, daß sie dem letzteren ein gut Theil näher stehen als dem ersteren, und daß sie auf einem Wege wandeln, dessen eigentliches Ziel und nur vermeintlicher Ausgangspunkt leicht wieder Rom seyn könnte. Dazu fürchten wir die größere Consequenz und Maßlosigkeit, welche die Schüler vor

9 parishes; the previously Reformed, the French, the Catholic the Bohemians and the Moravian Brethren and the military make together approximately a tenth of the population. And thus are no doubt the conditions of many other large cities in Germany, namely such as Hamburg, whose population has increased in recent times as significantly as that of Berlin.].

¹⁸⁹See *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, vol. 14, No. 11 (1840), pp. 85-88, No. 12, p. 96, No. 13, pp. 100-104, No. 23, pp. 181-184, No. 24, pp. 187-191.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., No. 13, p. 100. [the preaching of the Word and the certainty of faith which follows from it].

¹⁹¹Ibid., p. 104. [no other system has more safe defences and a more effective antidote to popery than the English High Church].

den Lehrern auszuzeichnen pflegt und daß, wo das Principiis obsta vernachlässigt wird, auch für die sich entwickelnden Folgen keine Bürgschaft mehr vorhanden ist.¹⁹²

¹⁹²Ibid., No. 13, p. 104. [Although it [the Oxford Movement] declares the system of the English Episcopal Church according to the opinion of the High Church party as a happy medium between the extremes of ultra-Protestantism and Romanism, yet it cannot be denied that it is a great deal nearer to the latter than to the former and that they walk on a way, whose actual goal and only supposed starting point could be easily Rome again. Moreover, do we fear the greater consequence and lack of moderation which customarily distinguishes the pupils from the teachers and that where the principiis obsta is neglected there is also no safety from the consequences which come along.].

3.5 The journalistic general-attack against Rationalism: The 'Halle Denunciation'

Right from the beginning, the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* revealed a vigor in its hostility to Rationalism, Liberalism and the advance of modern biblical exegesis which in its unparalleled extremism disconcerted not only Hengstenberg's theological opponents but even churchmen from his own ranks. As early as in 1827, Tholuck had already disassociated himself from the inquisitorial tendencies in Hengstenberg's editorship:

Ich möchte doch wiederholen, daß Du dich noch mehr bestreben mußt, Dich in Andre zu versetzen und von da aus in der Liebe zu begegnen. Du bist doch erst 24 und Anno 48 wirst Du doch in manchem anders denken, und andere Naturen werden immer anders denken als Deine ... Mildern kannst Du in meinen Aufsätzen wo Du willst, aber nicht schärfen, denn ich habe selbst Spitzen.¹⁹³

Even Ludwig von Gerlach occasionally felt obliged to urge moderation and a greater spirit of love in the ethos of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*. Hengstenberg, however, due to his confrontational temper, did not feel unduly worried by such criticism. Neither the estrangement of several allies and friends, such as Tholuck and Neander who eventually even went so far as to renounce their support for a policy of growing extremism, nor the great animosity from liberals, ever stop him from systematically employing

¹⁹³Cited in Bachmann, *Hengstenberg*, vol. 2, p. 94. [I would like to remind you that you need to make more effort to put yourself in the place of others and from there to meet in love. You are as yet only twenty-four yet and in 1848 you will think differently of quite a few things and other minds will always think differently from you ... You may moderate my articles as it pleases you but do not sharpen them for I can be sharp-witted myself.].

the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* in his crusade against the bogey of Rationalism. As he wrote on 21 June 1827:

Die Evangelische Kirchenzeitung soll keiner Partei angehören, sie will der evangelischen Kirche als solcher dienen ... weil jedoch das Evangelium einmal seiner Natur nach das Engegenstehende bekämpfen muß, so kann die Evangelische Kirchenzeitung die Polemik nicht ganz vermeiden.¹⁹⁴

The present chapter will be primarily concerned with Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach's early journalistic activities in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*. His controversial article on the state of affairs within the faculty of theology at Halle which appeared in January 1830 led to the most notorious public clash between neo-Pietist orthodoxy and theological Rationalism in Protestant Germany, a controversy which later went down in the annals of ecclesiastical history as the "Hallesche Denunziation" - the Denunciation of Halle.

The Prussian lawyer, publicist and politician von Gerlach ranks as one of the most distinctive figures of German nineteenth-century conservative Protestantism. The second son of Karl Friedrich Leopold von Gerlach and his wife Agnes, née von Raumer, he was born on 7 March 1795 in Berlin. Both of his parents were descended from traditional families of the Prussian landed gentry.

Seit Generationen standen Mitglieder beider Familien als Verwaltungsbeamte, Juristen, Offiziere oder Theologen im Dienste

¹⁹⁴Cited in *ibid.*, p. 98. [The *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* shall not belong to any party, it rather wants to serve the Evangelical Church as such ... however, since the gospel according to its nature has to fight whatever stands in the way, the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* cannot entirely avoid polemics.].

des preußischen Staates. Hieran änderte sich in den Jahrzehnten des politischen und gesellschaftlichen Umbruchs, in denen Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach heranwuchs, nur wenig. So wie das preußische Junkertum insgesamt seine führende Stellung in Staat und Gesellschaft behauptete, so konnte auch die Familie von Gerlach ihre Tradition über die Umbruchzeit hinweg ohne Einbußen fortsetzen. Ernst Ludwig und seine Geschwister verblieben in ihrem sozialen Milieu. Niemand verließ den relativ geschlossenen Heiratskreis des preußischen Dienst- und Landadels. Alle rückten wie ihre Vorfahren in führende Positionen auf.¹⁹⁵

Dominated by a "gemäßigt reformierte Frömmigkeit, strenges Pflichtgefühl und ritterschaftliches Selbstbewußtsein"¹⁹⁶, it was above all that conventional system of values of his Prussian-aristocratic parental upbringing which accounts for von Gerlach's conservative religious identity. Unsurprisingly, the home of the von Gerlachs did not provide the right environment for theological Rationalism and the thought of the Enlightenment. Furthermore, like many contemporaries of his status, Gerlach's political and cultural formation largely developed within the framework of Romantic conservatism. At the centre of romantic-conservative thought was, as Helmut Berding has put it, "das in die Vergangenheit projizierte Ideal einer organischen Einheit von christlichem Glauben, patriarchalischer Herrschaftsordnung und ständischer

¹⁹⁵Berding, *Gerlach*, pp. 243-244. [For generations, members of both families were in the service of the Prussian state as government officials, lawyers, army officers, and theologians, only little changed in the years of political and social change in which Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach grew up. Just as the Prussian Junkerdom maintained its leading position in state and society, so the von Gerlachs continued their tradition without any loss at a time of radical change. Ernst Ludwig and his siblings remained in their social milieu. No one left the relatively intimate marriage circle of the Prussian court and the landed gentry. All, like their ancestors, moved up to leading positions.].

¹⁹⁶Ibid., p. 244. [moderate Reformed piety, a strong sense of duty and a chivalrous self-confidence].

Gesellschaftsgliederung"¹⁹⁷. Theologically, von Gerlach supported the idea of a Christian state, in which the whole structure of the social system, including state and church, should be derived from the bible: "Er entwarf ein Bild vom Reich Gottes, in das er sein eigenes patriarchalisch-ständisches Staats- und Gesellschaftsideal hineinprojizierte."¹⁹⁸

Since von Gerlach's older brother, Leopold, had joined the army and Otto, the younger brother became a clergyman, the only consistent career which, according to the family tradition, was left to Ernst Ludwig to pursue was that of a lawyer. He read law under the famous founder of the Romantic-conservative historical philosophy of law (*historische Rechtsschule*), Friedrich Carl von Savigny (1779-1861)¹⁹⁹ in 1810, before moving to Göttingen and Heidelberg, where he also studied classical and modern literature. E. L. von Gerlach's entry in the Prussian judiciary was delayed through the wars of liberation (1813-1815) in which he fought as a volunteer and was injured several times. In 1820, he was appointed *Assessor*²⁰⁰ at the *Oberlandesgericht*²⁰¹ in Naumburg. His further career passed as a story of continuing advancement. He was promoted, first as director of the *Landesgericht*²⁰² in Halle in 1829, then as president of the *Oberlandesgericht* in Frankfurt on the river Oder in 1834, a member of the *Staatsrat*²⁰³ and the *Savigny Gesetzesgebungskommission*²⁰⁴ in 1842 and

¹⁹⁷Ibid., p. 243. [the ideal, projected into the past, of an organic unity of Christian faith, patriarchal form of rule and a social system in a manner befitting one's station].

¹⁹⁸Ibid., p. 247. [He developed an understanding of God's kingdom in which he projected his own patriarchal ideal of state and society.].

¹⁹⁹On Friedrich Carl von Savigny, see *RGG* 3, vol. 5 (1961), cols 1378-1379.

²⁰⁰[Graduate civil servant who has completed his traineeship].

²⁰¹[Provincial high court].

²⁰²[District court].

²⁰³[Council of state].

finally, as president of the Oberlandes- und Appellationsgericht²⁰⁵ in Magdeburg in 1844.

As a civil servant, politician and publicist, von Gerlach exercised a far-reaching influence in an important period of Prussian and German history. His independent position as a civil servant in the Prussian administration of justice gave him a far greater freedom than many of his comrades-in-arms to hold his political and religious opinions with a unvarnished frankness in public. Though a symbolic figure of a bigoted and reactionary ethos to the Liberal public, von Gerlach's reputation as a lawyer and politician was nevertheless in every respect distinguished by his strong sense of justice and a large degree of objectivity which he even observed in political matters. Yet in his life story, the religious and political tragedy of the doctrinally-conservative thought of the old Prussia became in a very special way apparent.²⁰⁶ Under Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who himself was the royal spiritualization of Romantic conservatism *par excellence*, von Gerlach became the chief representative of Prussian ultraconservatism. In the wake of the Revolution of March 1848, he consolidated his political position as arguably the most influential adviser of the king. As a firm enemy of the Revolution, von Gerlach co-founded in July 1848 the *Neue Preußische Zeitung* ('*Kreuzzeitung*') which became the focus of the Conservative Party. The appointment of Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) as *Ministerpräsident*²⁰⁷ of Prussia in 1862, however, marked von Gerlach's gradual political *Abgesang*. Their original close ties of friendship - von Gerlach was the godfather of Bismarck's oldest son - rapidly cooled and

²⁰⁴[Legislative commission].

²⁰⁵[Court of appeal].

²⁰⁶See RGG 3, vol. 2 (1958), col. 1430.

²⁰⁷[Prime minister].

even turned into irreconcilable enmity the more Bismarck deviated from the ultraconservative positions of his youth. Von Gerlach now called Bismarck a revolutionary, and castigated his politics of annexation of other German principalities to Prussia as godless and contrary to the Ten Commandments. Bismarck's close collaboration with political Liberalism in the *Kulturkampf*²⁰⁸ was the final break. In 1873, in what was everywhere regarded as an almost incredible step, von Gerlach even went over to the newly founded Catholic *Zentrumspartei*²⁰⁹. A controversial publication on the introduction of civil marriage finally compelled him to tender his resignation from juridical civil service in the ensuing year. When von Gerlach died in 1877 as a result of a road accident, he was already regarded as a representative of a political and cultural past.

The University of Halle, founded in 1695 by the Elector Friedrich III (1688-1713), the future first king in Prussia (1701-1713), was by the time of von Gerlach's arrival in 1829 the unchallenged stronghold of German theological Rationalism. Nowhere in Germany was the complex juxtaposition of the Pietist tradition and the theology which derived from the Enlightenment more evident than at that new university in the electorate of Brandenburg which ironically was originally designed in the spirit of Pietist policies of reform:

Der brandenburgische Staat erhoffte von der neuen Universität Halle die Verbreitung einer toleranteren Gesinnung innerhalb der lutherischen Kirche, und deshalb berief man Pietisten zu Universitätslehrern, von denen man wußte, daß für sie die dogmatische Differenzen zwischen Luthertum und Calvinismus keine heilsentscheidende Bedeutung hatten und die darüberhinaus

²⁰⁸The struggle between the Prussian State and the Roman Catholic Church, 1871-1887.

²⁰⁹[Centre Party].

die Meinung vertraten, es komme allein darauf an, das zu erkennen, was zur Wiedergeburt aus lebendigem Glauben führe.²¹⁰

With the appointment of the Pietist divine and educationalist August Hermann Francke (1663-1727)²¹¹ first as professor of Greek and Oriental languages and then of theology, Halle eventually became the centre of German Pietism:

Der entscheidende Durchbruch des Pietismus zu einer der lutherischen Orthodoxie überlegenen und sie antiquierenden, das protestantische Kirchentum für Jahrzehnte prägende geistigen Macht ist nicht Spener, sondern erst seinem tatkräftigen Schüler August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) gelungen. Prediger und Seelsorger, Theologe und Pädagoge, dazu ein Unternehmer und Organisator großen Ausmaßes, hat Francke durch sein mehr als drei Jahrzehnte währendes Wirken in Halle an der Saale die im 18. Jahrhundert bedeutendste Gestalt des Pietismus geformt und durchgesetzt: den hallischen Pietismus.²¹²

²¹⁰Klaus Deppermann, 'August Hermann Francke', in Martin Greschat (ed.), *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 7 *Orthodoxie und Pietismus* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1985), p. 247. [The state of Brandenburg hoped from the new University of Halle for the spread of a more tolerant way of thinking within the Lutheran Church and therefore Pietists were appointed as university lecturers of whom one knew that for them the dogmatic differences between Lutheranism and Calvinism had no redeeming significance for redemption and who, furthermore, were of the opinion that what matters is to recognise what leads to rebirth through living faith.].

²¹¹On August Hermann Francke see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 156-179; Erhard Peschke, *Studien zur Theologie August Hermann Franckes*, 2 vols (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Berlin, 1966); Deppermann, *Francke*, 241-261; Johannes Wallmann, Der Pietismus, in Bernd Moeller, *Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte. Ein Handbuch*, vol. 4, O1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), pp.59-79 (Lit.).

²¹²Wallmann, *Pietismus*, p. 61. [The crucial breakthrough of Pietism as a spiritual power, which, superior to Orthodoxy and outdating it, formed ecclesiastical Protestantism for decades, was not achieved by Spener but only by his energetic pupil, August Hermann Francke ... Preacher, pastor, theologian and pedagogue, entrepreneur and organizer on a large scale, Francke, through his work at Halle on the Saale for more than three decades had formed and asserted the most important form of Pietism: Halle Pietism.].

Under the implicit protection of Friedrich Wilhelm I (1713-1740), Francke followed a policy of reforming the study of theology which, with its Pietist orientation towards piety and practical experience for the training for the ministry, made Halle soon the most frequented faculty of theology in Germany. Students from all parts of Germany and from abroad poured into the lecture theatres; the Prussian state even stipulated a course of study in Halle as compulsory for every pastor and teacher in training.²¹³ In the reign of the 'Soldier king', the spirit of Halle Pietism even contrived, as Klaus Deppermann has pointed out, to find its way into the Prussian army:

Feldprediger im preußischen Heer konnte in seiner Regierungszeit nur werden, wer in Halle studiert und von dort eine Bescheinigung seiner Frömmigkeit mitbrachte. So leistete der Pietismus einen gewissen Beitrag zur Umwandlung der preußischen Armee aus einem wüsten Söldnerhaufen in ein diszipliniertes modernes Heer.²¹⁴

Yet uniquely among the more recently founded educational establishments in Germany, Halle's faculty of theology had right from the beginning the chief characteristics of both Pietism and the Enlightenment. The appointment of the philosopher Christian Wolff (1679-1754)²¹⁵ as professor of mathematics and natural science in 1706, marked the beginning of a lasting challenge to the Halle Pietism. Wolff, the 'prince of the Enlightenment', liberated philosophy from its subordinate role as the

²¹³On the reform of theological studies at Halle, see *ibid.*, pp. 72-75, Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 144-147.

²¹⁴Deppermann, *Francke*, p. 257. [Only those could become military chaplains in the Prussian army who had studied in Halle and obtained from there a certification of piety. Thus Pietism made a certain contribution to the transformation of the Prussian army from a wild mercenary troop into a disciplined modern army.].

²¹⁵On Christian Wolff see *RGG* 3, vol. 6 (1962), cols 1801-1802.

handmaid of theology and created a large part of the German philosophical terminology. In 1723, Wolff was ousted from Halle University and expelled from Prussia by Friedrich Wilhelm I at the instigation of Francke and Joachim Lange (1670-1744)²¹⁶, who denounced him as a *Religionsfeind*²¹⁷ and *Determinist*. The accession of Friedrich II to the throne in 1740, however, brought a startling rehabilitation. Like Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), John Locke (1632-1704) and Voltaire (1694-1778), Wolff had been a determining factor in Friedrich's *Weltanschauung* which was "ganz diesseitig, rationalistisch; lange Zeit genügten ihm die Hauptsätze des Deismus: die vernünftige Welt setzt ein vollkommenes Wesen als Urheber voraus"²¹⁸. Wolff's recall to Halle in 1740, which was one of the king's first acts, was a great and humiliating triumph over his Pietist opponents: by royal order the academic staff were forced to greet Wolff on his arrival with standing ovations. Not least through the exertion of influence by the king, who committed all the Prussian theological faculties to the new philosophical method, Wolff's philosophical system "won great popularity and was in substance that taught in most of the German universities in the latter half of the 18th century"²¹⁹. Even though some German principalities, above all Württemberg, tried to restrict the influence of the Enlightenment, Prussia, the largest Protestant state, enjoyed a degree of freedom of conscience and *Lehrfreiheit*²²⁰ under Friedrich II that was unparalleled in Europe.

²¹⁶On the significance of Joachim Lange for the Pietist arguments in Halle see *RGG* 3, vol. 4 (1960), col. 226.

²¹⁷[enemy of religion].

²¹⁸*RGG* 3, vol. 2 (1958), cols 1148-1149. [entirely of this world, rationalistic; for a long time the main propositions of Deism were sufficient for him: the rational world takes a perfect being as its originator for granted].

²¹⁹*ODCC*, p. 1760.

²²⁰[freedom of teaching].

Wolff's rehabilitation in Halle is a significant example of the increasingly successful infiltration of Rationalism into the German world of thought. Moreover, his restitution marked a far-reaching transition in Halle from the Pietist era to the predominance of Rationalism. At the beginning of this transition stood the Wolffian Sigmund Jakob Baumgarten (1706-1757)²²¹, from 1743 to his death ordentlicher *Professor*²²² of theology in Halle. Following his teacher, Baumgarten sought to reestablish orthodox dogma through rational deduction, and was one of the first German theologians to apply cautiously the new scientific and historical thought. Praised by Voltaire as the 'crown of German scholarship', Baumgarten became the teacher of a whole generation of both conservative and Neologist theologians. Baumgarten's most famous pupil was one of Rose's bogey men among the German neologists: Semler, who himself was for nearly forty years (1753-1791) professor in Halle. He extended Baumgarten's *scientifische Theologie*²²³ through his pioneering approaches in the critico-historical method and completed his teacher's endeavours to base theology on the ground of the new 'scientific' *Weltanschauung*. Semler's *Institutio ad liberalem eruditionem theologicam* (1762) outlined the new programme of theology as an "Erfahrungswissenschaft, die zugleich am Offenbarungsgedanken festhält, aber das historische Interesse dem dogmatischen vorordnet"²²⁴. In contrast to Baumgarten's *Übergangstheologie*²²⁵, Semler was a supporter of Neology. Yet unlike the

²²¹On Sigmund Jakob Baumgarten see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 2, pp. 370-388, *RGG* 4, vol. 1 (1998), cols 1180-1181, *RGG* 3, vol.1 (1957), col. 934.

²²²[university lecturer who occupied an established chair].

²²³[scientific theology].

²²⁴*RGG* 3, vol. 3 (1959), col. 36. [empirical science which held to the notion of revelation but at the same time gave historical interest priority over any dogmatic interest].

²²⁵[theology of transition].

later Rationalists, Semler did not elevate reason to the fundamental principle of *rerum supernaturalium*. The revelation of salvation through Jesus Christ was for Semler of the utmost importance for faith and the Christian way of life. Moreover, his famous distinction between religion and theology was originally directed against a narrow Deist and Naturalistic Enlightenment. Apart from Semler, those Halle theologians who with their new understanding of theology as an academic discipline decisively prepared the ground for theological Rationalism included Baumgarten's pupil Johann August Nösselt (1734-1807)²²⁶, the neologists Johann Friedrich Gruner (1723-1778)²²⁷, Johann Jakob Griesbach (1745-1812)²²⁸ and August Hermann Niemeyer (1754-1828)²²⁹, a great grandson of Francke.

In 1830, Halle had twelve professors, two *Privatdozenten* and 881 students, by far the largest faculty of theology in Germany. Despite all previous attempts by the Prussian government under the successors of Friedrich II to stem the influence of 'rampant neology',²³⁰ Rationalism maintained an unbroken supremacy in Halle till well into the third decade of the nineteenth century. With the theologians Gesenius and Wegschneider, who both ranked undoubtedly among the most successful and popular university teachers of their time, Halle Rationalism reached its final academic peak. Scarcely anywhere, as Bachmann emphasised,

²²⁶On Johann August Nösselt see *RGG* 3, vol. 4 (1960), cols 1502-1503.

²²⁷On Johann Friedrich Gruner see *RGG* 3, vol. 2 (1958), col. 1896.

²²⁸On Johann Jakob Griesbach see *RGG* 3, vol. 2 (1958), col. 1876.

²²⁹On August Hermann Niemeyer see *RGG* 3, vol. 4 (1960), col. 1473.

²³⁰Wöllner's *Instruktion der Examenskommision für die Theologische Fakultät in Halle* [instruction for the examining commission of the Faculty of Theology in Halle] of 1794 bound the faculty to teach dogmatics in close correspondence with the Confessio Augustana and to pursue exegetical work without the application of the textcritical method.

hatte sich der Rationalismus noch so sehr in fast ungebrochener Herrschaft behauptet und stellte sich mit seiner auch das heranwachsende Geschlecht vergiftenden Wirkung in so erschreckenden Dimensionen dar, als in der theologischen Fakultät zu Halle. Beinah 900 evangelische Theologiestudenten saßen hier zu Füßen von Gesenius und Wegscheider und ließen kein Wort der seichten neologischen Weisheit keinen dem Glauben feindseligen Witz dieser beiden Auctoritäten entgehen.²³¹

A native of Nordhausen, Gesenius²³² studied theology under the Rationalist church historian Heinrich Philipp Henke (1752-1809)²³³ in Helmstedt²³⁴. He was appointed *Repetent*²³⁵ at the theological faculty of the University of Göttingen in 1806 and after a brief interval as school master at Heiligenstadt was appointed first as *außerordentlicher* (1810) and already in the following year as *ordentlicher Professor* at Halle where he remained to his death.

Gesenius is regarded as the main founder of exact 'scientific' Hebrew philology and semitic epigraphy. Although he distinguished himself also through several exegetical works, such as his voluminous commentary on Isaiah²³⁶, Gesenius's main and lasting contribution in the field of Old

²³¹Bachmann, *Hengstenberg*, vol. 2, p. 180. [did Rationalism maintain in almost unbroken power and present its poisoning effects to the growing generation in such frightening dimensions as at the theological faculty at Halle. Nearly 900 Evangelical students of theology sat here at the feet of Gesenius and Wegscheider and did not miss a single word of the shallow neological wisdom nor a single joke hostile to the faith of both of those authorities.].

²³²On Wilhlem Gesenius see *TRE*, vol. 13 (1984), pp. 39-40, *RGG* 3, vol. 2 (1958), col. 1511, Rogerson, *Old Testament*, pp. 50-57.

²³³On Heinrich Philipp Konrad Henke see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 11-14, *RGG* 3, vol. 3 (1959), col. 221.

²³⁴On the University of Helmstedt see *RGG* 3, vol. 3 (1959), cols 214-215.

²³⁵[tutor].

²³⁶Wilhelm Gesenius, *Der Prophet Jesaja übersetzt und mit einem philologisch-kritischen und historischen Commentare begleitet*, [The

Testament scholarship lays in his philological studies. His most important works on Biblical Hebrew are two major lexicographical works and a grammar, the *Hebräische Grammatik*²³⁷, was first published in 1813 and saw in Gesenius's life time no less than thirteen new editions. Translated into several languages, the *Grammatik* remains in its latest, twenty-ninth edition (1918/1929, revised by Gotthelf Bergsträßer) even to this day a standard work for Hebrew philology. In 1829, there appeared the first volume of the *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*, on which Gesenius was destined to be engaged for most of the rest of his life. Death, however, prevented him from completing what soon had become a standard work of Hebrew lexicographics, the *Thesaurus* which was finished posthumously in 1858. Another work that is still widely used at the theological faculties in Germany is the *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch über die Schriften des Alten Testaments*²³⁸ (2 vols, 1810-1812, latest revised, seventeenth edition by Frants Buhl in 1915). The development of modern critical Old Testament scholarship from a mere complementary subject to an equal theological discipline owes much to Gesenius's philological pioneering work: "Die hebräische Sprachforschung sollte als selbstständige wissenschaftliche Disziplin unabhängig von theologischer Voreingenommenheit sein, der historische Entwicklungsgang nur aus sich selbst ergründet werden."²³⁹

Prophet Isaiah Translated and Accompanied with a philological-Critical and Historical Commentary, 3 vols (1820-1821).

²³⁷[Hebrew grammar].

²³⁸[Hebrew-German dictionary of the Scriptures of the Old Testament].

²³⁹Hahn, *Gesenius*, p. 39. [Linguistic research in Hebrew should, as a independent academic discipline, be free from theological prejudice, and the historical developmental course of the language be derived only from itself.].

Wegschneider's *curriculum vitae* contains some striking references to Gesenius's academic career. Their paths crossed for the first time as students when both were pupils of Henke in Helmstedt. Born in Küblingen nearby Braunschweig, Wegschneider²⁴⁰ became, like Gesenius, a *Repetent* at the University of Göttingen (1805). From 1806 to 1810 he was professor of theology and philosophy at Rinteln²⁴¹ and in 1810, the same year as Gesenius, was offered a professorship in theology and philosophy at Halle. Wegschneider too held that office for the rest of his life.

While a private tutor in Hamburg (1795-1805), Wegschneider came under the influence of Kant. His philosophical system of religion decisively influenced Wegschneider's own overall theological endeavours to establish rationally the connections between morality and religion and by the same token the very essence of religion itself. Wegschneider is probably best known for his *Institutiones theologiae christianae dogmaticae* (first edition in 1815) which are regarded as the standard dogmatic work of German Rationalism. Wegschneider's dogmatics is by far the most detailed exposition of the various theological positions which the Enlightenment had brought forth over the previous hundred years. In their fourth edition (1824), the *Institutiones* became even for Rose an invaluable and much-quoted reference for his study of the state of religion in Germany. In the preface to the *Discourses*, Rose recommended them specifically to his readers as a work "which contains full references to all the most violent

²⁴⁰On Julius August Ludwig Wegschneider see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 20-26, *RGG* 3, vol. 6 (1962), col. 1556.

²⁴¹On the Lutheran University of Rinteln see *RGG* 3, vol. 5 (1961), col. 1111.

books of the [Rationalist] party, and which is perhaps the most recent exposé of their opinions"²⁴².

Wegschneider did not evade the conflict between the Rationalist approach to dogmatics and the traditional interpretation of such central biblical doctrines as the fall of man, miracles, resurrection and ascension. Yet unlike Kant, Wegschneider did not confine himself to a moral-rational reinterpretation of the bible; to his mind the historico-critical method was the only way to establish the appropriate relation between the authority of the biblical texts and dogmatic statements. Wegschneider's Rationalist approach to the Bible was, entirely in accordance with the *traditionskritisches*²⁴³ framework of the Enlightenment, determined by the empirical results which historical criticism had reached: First, even the canon of the New Testament does not offer an unanimous and uniform teaching but shows a variety of theological differences. Thus what is called for in theology is "diejenigen neutestamentlichen Aussagen aufzunehmen, die als den von Gott uns eingepflanzten religiösen und sittlichen Ideen gemäß sich erweisen".²⁴⁴ Second, concerning Jesus Christ and his teaching in particular, it is obvious that the relevant accounts of the New Testament are interspersed with many statements which were erroneous and tied to their particular time: "Eine kritische Sichtung des Stoffs is gerade auch hier unvermeidlich, wenn man nicht statt Jesu vielmehr die ihm am Geist weit unterlegnen Evangelisten zur Grundlage der christlichen Lehre machen

²⁴²Rose, *Discourses*, first edition, p. vii.

²⁴³[critical to tradition].

²⁴⁴Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, p. 21. [to take up those statements of the New Testament which prove to be in accordance with the religious and moral ideas imbued by God in us].

will."²⁴⁵ Finally, the historico-critical conception showed clearly, that the bible according to the *Weltanschauung* and the educational level of the ancient world was interwoven with myth and legend. In his history of Evangelical theology, Hirsch acknowledged Wegschneider as the most determined and consistent thinker among the Rationalist theologians:

Ohne irgendwelche ausgleichende Formel stellt er die geschichtliche Offenbarung Gottes in Jesus Christus dar als durch die Vorsehung im Weltzusammenhang natürlich vermittelt und von unserem sittlich-religiösen Bewußtsein vernunftmäßig aufzufassen und zu bewähren²⁴⁶

For a long time, Halle remained largely resistant to the advances of the new Revival Movement. First signs of a change were in the offing in 1825 when the *Kultusminister* von Altenstein intended to bring Tholuck as professor to Halle to break the predominance of theological Rationalism there. Professors and students of the theology faculty, however, were unanimous in their protest against the appointment. Apart from his Pietist credentials, the faculty took offence in particular at some critical comments on the theological spirit at Halle which Tholuck had publicly issued during a visit to London. At that time, his remarks aroused much animosity in the ecclesiastical press in Germany; one paper even spoke bitterly of the intolerable "Verlästerung Deutschlands im Auslande durch Deutsche"²⁴⁷. Yet despite all opposition von Altenstein firmly held to his candidate and in

²⁴⁵Ibid. [A critical examination of the material is in particular here inevitable, if one does not want to make the basis of Christian teaching not Jesus but the evangelists who were inferior to him in spirit.].

²⁴⁶See Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, p. 20. [He depicted the historical revelation of God in Jesus Christ without any compensating formula as naturally given through providence within the world context, to be understood and proven rationally from our moral-religious consciousness.].

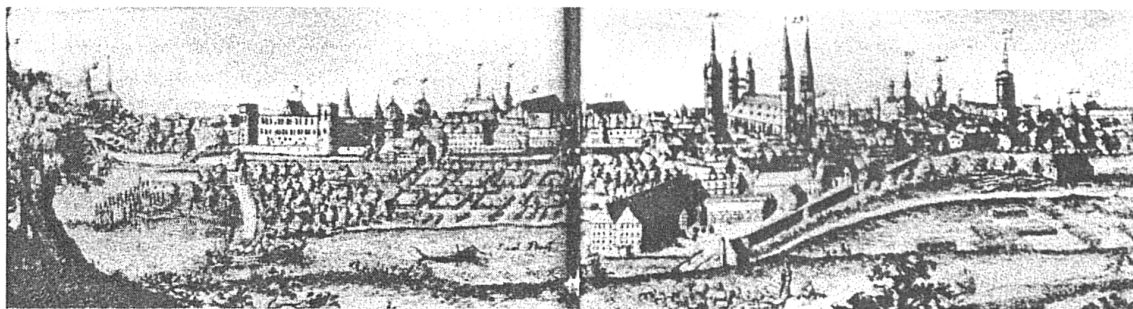
²⁴⁷See Krumwiede, *Tholuck*, p. 284. [disparagement of Germany abroad through Germans].

spring 1826 Tholuck took up his new post at Halle. By his own account Tholuck later maintained that at his arrival he had met only three 'faithful' among all the students. Although Tholuck's career at Halle proved in the long term to be an immense success for the Prussian Revival Movement, his first years were largely marked by a great deal of hostility, and by theological arguments with the Rationalist party. In his initial isolation Tholuck therefore rejoiced in the news of von Gerlach's transfer to Halle: "Eine Nachricht, die macht, daß ich auf den Stuhl niedersinke, zum Himmel emporlache und frage : Nein ist das wahr? Das kann ja nicht sein! Und dann gings auf die Kniee. O nein, nein, das ist zu viel. Sage Ludwig G. daß ich ganz außer mir bin."²⁴⁸

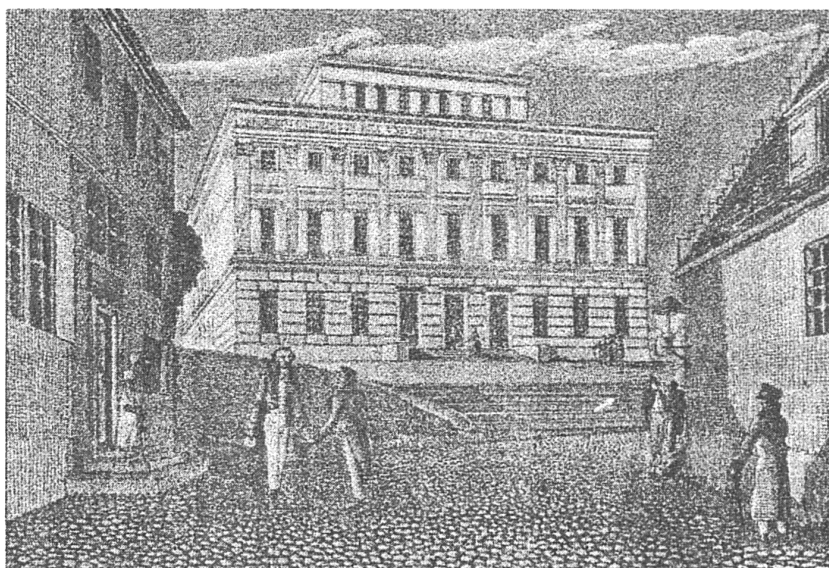
Von Gerlach did not disappoint the great expectations which the neo-pietist party in Berlin attached to his move to Halle. Already in September 1829 Hengstenberg sent his congratulations to von Gerlach: "Ich habe mich sehr gefreut, von mehreren Seiten ... zu erfahren, daß Sie dort vorzugsweise verrufen sind."²⁴⁹ Just two months later, von Gerlach approached Hengstenberg with the proposal for an article on the prevailing teaching at Halle. The reply from Berlin was not long in coming: "Zu dem Berichte

²⁴⁸Cited in Bachmann, *Hengstenberg*, vol. 2, p. 180. [A message which makes me sink into a chair, laughing up to heaven and asking: gosh, is that true? That cannot be! And then I was brought to my knees. O no, no, that is too much. Tell Ludwig G. that I am completely beside myself.]

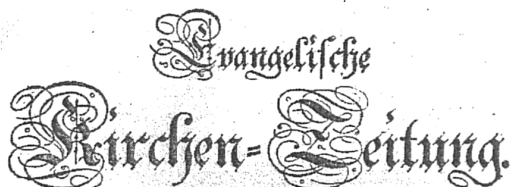
²⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 181. [I was ever so pleased to hear from several sides that you are there, and as I prefer it, disreputable.]



Halle, engraving, circa 1800



University
of Halle,
engraving,
circa 1800

[illegible]

Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach

über Halle fordere ich Sie auf das Dringendste auf. Keine menschliche Rücksicht wird mich an der Aufnahme hindern."²⁵⁰ On 2 January, von Gerlach submitted a draft which was promptly published in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* (16 and 20 January 1830) under the title "Der Rationalismus auf der Universität Halle"²⁵¹.

The charges which von Gerlach brought against the two leading Halle Rationalists were based largely on anonymous notes and the oral testimony of students who remained unnamed. In anticipation of any condemnations which might arise from his sensational disclosures, von Gerlach put great emphasis on his assurance to his readers that his journalistic advance did not contain anything essential that the scholars in question had not already expressed publicly and in print anyway, and therefore could by no means be regarded as a "Verrath an Geheimlehren"²⁵².

Von Gerlach's first target was Wegschneider's Rationalist approach to the New Testament as exposed in his recent lectures on the Synoptic Gospels. Wegschneider taught that the apparition of the angel during the annunciation of the birth of John the Baptist had to be regarded as a mythological conception of Luke drawn from Jewish traditions.²⁵³ The account of the transfiguration of the Lord was explained by a thunderstorm and the sleepiness of the disciples who were filled with Jewish Messianic ideas.²⁵⁴ The episode of Jesus walking on the water would have been

²⁵⁰Ibid., p. 182. [I ask you most urgently for that article. No human consideration will prevent me from publishing it.].

²⁵¹[The Rationalism at Halle University].

²⁵²*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, vol. 4 (1830), p. 47. [betrayal of secret doctrines].

²⁵³See *ibid.*, p 38.

²⁵⁴See *ibid.*, p. 39

likewise a pointless illusion: "wahrscheinlich sey Jesus um den See herum gegangen und Petrus zu ihm geschwommen, woraus der wundergläubige Referent diesen Mythos gebildet habe"²⁵⁵. On Luke's account of the son of the widow of Nain (ch. 7, 11-17), Wegschneider is quoted by Gerlach as saying:

Dieser Erzählung könnte das einfache Factum zum Grunde gelegen haben, daß Jesus beim Eingange in Nain einen Leichenzug traf, Zeichen des Lebens bei dem angeblich Todten zufällig bemerkte, und diesen durch seinen nachdrucksvollen Zuruf wieder völlig zum Bewußtsein brachte. Die Juden pflegten schon damals ihre Todten sehr schnell zu beerdigen.²⁵⁶

With great detail, von Gerlach focussed on Wegschneider's statements concerning the resurrection of Jesus. Against the mythological accounts of the "wundersüchtigen"²⁵⁷ evangelists, Wegschneider maintained that Jesus had only seemed to die:

Der Hauptzweck des Todes Jesu, seine Aufopferung des Lebens für Wahrheit und Recht und zur Bestätigung seiner Lehre und die moralische Charakterstärke, mit welcher er sich dem Tode weihte, bleibt unverändert, wenn man auch annimmt, daß sein Tod nicht ganz vollendet ist. Jesus selbst konnte es nicht ahnden, daß seine Kreuzigung nicht völlig tödtlich für ihn seyn würde, und ahndete es auch nicht, und selbst nach seiner Wiederbelebung mußte er den todähnlichen bewußtlosen Zustand, in welchem er sich befunden hatte, als wirklichen Tod ansehen ... Da jener Zustand im Neuen Testamente überall Tod genannt wird, und auch unläugbar der Anfang des wirklichen Todes war, den nur Gottes besondere Fügung in einen vollendeten Tod überzugehen hinderte, so kann derselbe auch fernerhin als Tod bezeichnet werden, aus welchem

²⁵⁵Ibid. [Jesus probably walked around the lake and Peter swam to him from which the author who believed in miracles created that myth.].

²⁵⁶Ibid., p. 39. [This story could have the simple fact as its basis that Jesus at his entrance to Nain met a funeral procession; where by coincidence he noticed signs of life in the allegedly dead and brought him back to his consciousness through his emphatic call.].

²⁵⁷Ibid., p. 40. [addicted to miracles].

nur Gottes Leitung wieder Leben hervorgehen ließ. Auch behält jede im Christenthum angeordnete Feier, inwiefern sie sich auf die moralische Größe und Erhabenheit desselben gründet, ihre volle Kraft.²⁵⁸

Gesenius's criticism of the Old Testament, on the other hand, was depicted by von Gerlach as every bit as hostile to the fundamental doctrines of the holy scriptures as Wegschneider's scathing approach to the New Testament. Von Gerlach was in particular infuriated at the irreverent and scornful manner in which Gesenius allegedly ridiculed those doctrines and opinions which diverged from the Rationalist framework:

In des Dr. Gesenius Vorlesungen ist ein lautes, in manchen Stunden ein immer wiederkehrendes Gelächter der künftigen Diener des heiligen Wortes Gottes etwas Gewöhnliches. Oft gilt dieses Lachen den Meinungen der alten rechtgläubigen Kirchenlehrer, oder seinen jetzt lebenden Gegnern, deren bloße Namen manchmal nur genannt zu werden brauchen, um dasselbe bei den daran gewöhnten Zuhörern zu erregen wie auch Dr. Wegschneider es dahin brachte, daß er den Namen des Prof. Dr. Marheinecke nicht mehr aussprechen konnte, ohne sogleich ein Lachen zu erregen, vor dem es oft unmöglich wurde, das, was er aus Dr. Marheinecke's Schriften anführte, zu verstehen.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸Ibid. [the main purpose of Jesus' death, his sacrifice of life for truth and justice and for the confirmation of his teaching and the moral strength of character with which he consecrated himself to death, remains unchanged, even if one assumes that his death was not entirely completed. Jesus himself could not know that his crucifixion was not wholly deadly for him, and he did not know it; and even after his revival he had to consider the condition of death-like unconsciousness in which he had been as a real death. Since that condition is called death everywhere in the New Testament and indeed had indisputably been the beginning of the real death, which only God's special providence prevented from passing over to a completed death, it can be called death, from which only God's direction gave rise to life again. By the same token any celebration ordered in Christendom, as far as it is based on his moral greatness and sublimity, retains its full power].

²⁵⁹Ibid., p. 46. [In the lectures of Dr Gesenius, a loud, in some lessons recurrent laughter of the future servants of the holy Word of God is something usual. Often, this laughter is aimed at the opinions of the old

Moreover, according to von Gerlach's sources, Gesenius even did not stop at exposing the contents of the bible itself to the loud laughter of his students, as "wenn bei Abrahams Fürbitte für Sodom, ib. 18, 23-32, angeführt wird, das Schachern sey den Juden schon damals eigen gewesen, wenn die Psalmisten alte Betschwestern und der 134ste Psalm ein poetisches Nachtwächterlied genannt wird"²⁶⁰.

Even though the mood of the time might generally have turned already against the Enlightenment in Germany, von Gerlach strongly warned his readers not to shrug off rashly theological Rationalism as a phenomenon of the past rather than the present. On the contrary, the enormous success both Gesenius and Wegschneider enjoyed in Halle clearly showed that Rationalism still constituted a very powerful threat not only to the integrity of theology but above all to the authority of the Church herself. The whole controversy over the legacy of Rationalism was far from being a formal, academic quarrel about different theological approaches and technical problems of methodology: it was from von Gerlach's religious viewpoint on a deeper level a true religious battle in which the credibility of the Christian faith itself was at stake:

Wenn der große Gegensatz von Sünde und Heiligkeit, von Verdammnis und Seligkeit unser Herz erfüllt, so können wir im

orthodox teachers of the Church, or at his present oponents, whose mere names sometimes only had to be mentioned to achieve the same by the students who were used to it. As Dr Wegschneider also managed it, he could not mention the name of Prof. Dr. Marheinecke without immediately creating a laughter which made it often impossible to understand what he quoted from Dr. Marheinecke's works.].

²⁶⁰Ibid. [when it is said in the context of Abraham's intercession for Sodom (Gen. 18, 23-32) that haggling was already at that time a habit of the Jews, and the psalmist was called an old churchy type and psalm 134 the poetic song of a night watchman].

Glauben und Unglauben nicht bloß verschiedene Geistesrichtungen finden, und Irrlehren, welche die Kirche Gottes verwüsten, nicht mit bloßer Verachtung ansehen, sonst möchte der Fürst dieser Welt unser Streiten für die Wahrheit ebenfalls verachten. Wir sollen die Ungläubigen nicht als beschränkte Menschen übersehen, was freilich oft sehr leicht ist, sondern sie für den Herrn gewinnen, wozu nur der Geist Gottes und die Waffen des Wortes und Gebetes uns in den Stand setzen.²⁶¹

As far as the future of the Christian faith in an increasingly secular society generally was concerned, von Gerlach had absolutely no doubt that the Word of God made headway without the support of worldly power and even in opposition to the demands of public life, as in the example of England where apparently

öffentlich zu Widerlegungen der christlichen Wahrheit eingeladen, die Verbreitung der feindseligsten Schriften gegen das Christentum nicht gehindert, und den sich zur Jahresfeier der Bibelgesellschaft Versammelnden an den Thüren des Saales von papistischen Gegnern der Bibel eine kleine Schrift gegen die Bibelverbreitung gegeben wird²⁶².

In view of the situation in Halle, however, the historico-critical extravagances of Gesenius and Wegscheider constituted a serious crisis

²⁶¹Ibid. [When the great antithesis between sin and holiness, between damnation and salvation fills our heart, we cannot see merely different states of mind in belief and unbelief and cannot regard heresies, which ravage the Church, merely with contempt, otherwise may the prince of the world himself may regard our struggle with contempt. We ought not to overlook unbelievers as limited men, which admittedly is often easily done, but win them over to the Lord, which only the spirit of God and the weapons of the Word and prayer enable us to do.].

²⁶²Ibid., p. 47. [the refutation of the Christian truth is publicly encouraged, the distribution of the most hostile writings against Christianity is not hindered and where the participants at the annual meeting of the Bible Society receive at the doors a little pamphlet from the Popish enemies of the Bible against the distribution of the Bible].

within the Church herself. Von Gerlach was in particular concerned about the spiritual well-being of those young and impressionable students of theology who were constantly exposed to the damaging body of Rationalist thought. The long-term results for those who were already under its spell, von Gerlach lamented,

muß ein Ekel an der heiligen Schrift und an der jämmerlichen Beschäftigung seyn, aus einem Scheffel Spreu einige Körner herauszusuchen, die, wenn man sie gefunden, des Suchens nicht werth sind, da man sie überall leichter finden kann, und namentlich Wegschneider's Vorlesungen, weil sie diese Körner heraus sichten, dies Residuum der Bibel selbst überflüssig machen"²⁶³.

In this context, von Gerlach recalled the fact to mind that, due to the historically close ties between throne and altar in Protestant Germany, the theological faculties of the state universities performed an essential educational function for the Church: to become a Pastor in the Evangelical Church in Germany in the nineteenth century as it is to this day, a university degree in theology was not only compulsory but constituted the essential part of the training for the ministry. What is more, many of the university lecturers in senior positions, like Gesenius and Wegschneider themselves, were appointed by the *Landeskirchen* to the examining commissions, and therefore exercised a far-reaching influence on the selection procedure for the admission to the Protestant clerical body. Taking into account the enormous responsibility of the theological faculties for the spiritual formation of the future ministers of the Church, von Gerlach dismissed altogether the concept of an absolute *Lehrfreiheit* as

²⁶³Ibid., p. 40. [has to be a loathing of the Holy Scriptures and the pathetic occupation of picking out some grains out of a bushel of chaff, which, if found, are not worth searching for, since one can find them anywhere much easier, namely in Wegschneider's lectures, because they single out those grains and make that residuum of the bible itself superfluous].

applicable or let alone desirable for the professors of theology and, moreover, considered it his Christian duty to appeal to the relevant supervisory authorities to keep a tighter control over the adherence to orthodoxy of the teaching at the German theological faculties:

Wenn man nun den bedeutenden Umfang und Einfluß dieses Privilegiums erwägt, so ergibt sich sofort, und ist auch immer anerkannt worden, daß damit die Pflicht der reinen Lehre nach den Bekenntnisschriften der Kirche verbunden seyn muß, und daß die Anwendung des Grundsatzes unbedingter Lehrfreiheit auf unsere Professoren den schmähhlichsten Zwang für die Studirenden und für die Kirchen, deren Lehrämter aus denselben besetzt werden, zur Folge haben müßte.²⁶⁴

Appearing in January 1830, von Gerlach's article marked a controversial beginning to the tercentenary jubilee of the writing of the *Confessio Augustana*. What was even more significant was that the publication also exactly coincided with the vacancy in the directorship of the *Franckesche Stiftungen*²⁶⁵ at Halle. The beginnings of the famous *Stiftungen*, which in their enormous extent were unparalleled in Protestant Germany, date back to 1695 when Francke founded a poor-school and an orphanage to tackle the neglect of youth. What had started off in a very small way became over the years, due to their founder's unique sense of enterprise, a giant complex of institutions, including a number of educational establishments for all social ranks, a teacher-training seminary, a refectory for students in need, a printing press, a book shop, and even a factory for pharmaceutical products

²⁶⁴Ibid. [When one takes into consideration the significant extent and influence of this privilege, it shows itself immediately and had always been appreciated that connected with that must be the duty of pure teaching according to the Confessions, and that the application of the principle of absolute *lehrfreiheit* on our professors of theology would have the most ignominious compulsion for the students and the churches whose *Lehrämter* are filled from the same in consequence.].

²⁶⁵On the Franckesche Stiftungen see Wallmann, *Pietismus*, pp. 69-72.

which became a very profitable source of income for the orphanage. Furthermore, it was, as Wallmann has pointed out, it was through the contribution of Francke's *Hallische Bibelanstalt*²⁶⁶, the first German institute for the printing and distribution of the holy scriptures, that the bible became really a *Volksbuch*²⁶⁷ within the life of German Protestantism.²⁶⁸

Under the prevailing balance of ecclesiastical power at Halle, von Gerlach was alarmed that with the forthcoming election at the *Franckesche Stiftungen* the continued existence of one of the most influential strongholds of the German Pietist tradition was at stake.

Möchten die hier mitgetheilten, freilich nicht neuen, doch lange noch nicht genug erwogenen Thatsachen endlich die ernste Aufmerksamkeit aller Derer, die es angeht, und denen die Kirche Christi in unserm Deutschen Vaterlande am Herzen liegt, auf die wichtige Universität Halle lenken und ihre Herzen erwecken, durch Gebet, Wort und That die Wunden heilen zu helfen, die der Unglaube diesen durch die Reformation so reichlich gesegneten Ländern geschlagen hat und zu schlagen fortfährt. Ganz vorzüglich sollte auch gerade jetzt das Waisenhaus mit seinen umfassenden Schulanstalten, aus denen künftige Prediger und Schullehrer in großer Zähl alljährlich ausgehen, diese Theilnahme auf sich ziehen, da jetzt die Besetzung der ersten Directorstelle der sämmtlichen Francke'schen Stiftungen bevorsteht, und diese Wahl größtentheils entscheiden wird, ob in diesen Anstalten Francke's und seines Herrn Geist oder der Geist des Unglaubens unserer Tage regieren soll."²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶Founded in 1710, the Hallische Bibelanstalt became later known as Cansteinische Bibelanstalt.

²⁶⁷[people's book].

²⁶⁸See Wallmann, *Pietismus*, p. 71.

²⁶⁹*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* vol. 4 (1830), p. 47, [May those above mentioned facts, which are neither new nor nearly adequately considered, at last draw the earnest attention of those whom it concerns and for whom Christ's Church in our fatherland is dear to their hearts, to the important University of Halle and awake their hearts to heal through prayer, word and deed the wounds by which unbelief has scarred and continue to scar those *Länder* which had been blessed so abundantly by the Reformation.

That the timing of the publication of von Gerlach's sensational disclosures of Gesenius and Wegschneider's Rationalist teaching was by no means a matter of chance, but from the beginning was a well thought-out strategic move, follows clearly from a revealing covering letter to Hengstenberg that was attached to the draft of his article: "Nehmen Sie den Artikel ja auf das allerschleunigste auf, wegen der so höchst wichtigen Besetzung der Waisenhausdirector-Stelle, auf die er beim Minister und höchsten Orts günstig einwirken könnte."²⁷⁰ In short, by exploiting the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* as propaganda for the crucial elections at the *Franckesche Stiftungen* von Gerlach and Hengstenberg calculatingly turned their uncompromising battle against the predominance of Rationalism at Halle into journalistic mudslinging in which neither of them appeared particularly fussy about the methods they had chosen.

Originally, von Gerlach intended to go even one step further in his polemical portrayal of the two chief representatives of the Rationalist school at Halle by ostentatiously highlighting Tholuck's earnest endeavours for the university and the spiritual welfare of its students, but in the end refrained from doing so mainly because of Tholuck's strong misgivings about the whole undertaking. Tholuck was concerned in particular with the

Especially the orphanage with its extensive educational institutions from which a huge number of future preachers and teachers leave every year should attract everyone's attention, in particular in that time when the filling of the principal directorship is near and this election largely decides whether in these Institutions the spirit of Francke and his Lord's spirit or the spirit of the unbelief of our day should rule.].

²⁷⁰Cited in Bachmann, *Hengstenberg*, vol. 2, p. 183. [Do take up the article at once, because of the most important filling of the post of the director of the orphanage on which it could have some influence on both the minister and the highest authority.].

damaging consequence that von Gerlach's outspoken views might put at risk all the efforts he had already undertaken to win the students over to the Revival Movement. From his own early experiences, Tholuck knew too well that public opinion in Halle was generally not in favour of the gradual advance of the *Erweckung*. In the subsequent controversy, Gesenius was, as his first petition to the responsible *Kultusminister* von Altenstein of 1 February shows, quick in taking advantage of just those general misgivings.

Wie sehr übrigens die sectiererischen Umtriebe der hiesigen Pietistenpartei, besonders seit der Anwesenheit des berühmten Dr. de Valenti und des Ger.-Dir. von Gerlach, in Verbindung mit C.-R. Tholuck und dem Professor Guericke, der Frequenz der hiesigen Kgl. Universität nachtheilig werden, beweisen die Abberufungen mehrerer Studierenden durch besorgte Väter und Vormünder, welche nur durch diese Maßregel jene vor den mannigfaltigen Anlockungen zelotischer Proselytenmacher sichern zu können glauben."²⁷¹

In the event, Tholuck's prediction of hostility proved devastatingly accurate; von Gerlach's 'denunciation' fell in Halle, as Bachmann simply put in, "wie ein Funke in ein Pulverfaß"²⁷². For weeks, the religious life in that rather tranquil provincial town was completely out of joint. The most hostile response to the activities of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* came from the students. At the beginning of February there were tumultuous

²⁷¹Cited in Bachmann, *Hengstenberg*, vol. 2, p. 193. [How much incidentally the sectarian activities of the Pietist party, especially since the presence of the notorious Dr. de Valenti and of the president of the court von Gerlach in conjunction with Consistorium-Rat Tholuck and Professor Guericke, have been to the disadvantage of the popularity of this royal university, is shown by the recall of several students by anxious fathers and guardians who believe that only through this step can they protect them from the manifold attractions of zealous proselytisers.].

²⁷²Bachmann, *Hengstenberg*, vol. 2, p. 189. [like a spark into a powder keg].

scenes in the town and university: lectures were disturbed, Pietist preachers derided and students threatened to storm even the private houses of those lecturers who were known for their leanings towards the Revival. First, the students' outrage was directed mainly towards Tholuck himself as the putative author of the defamatory piece of writing. On 3 February, which was the birthday of Gesenius, the university authorities withdrew at the last minute the permission for a torchlight procession which students had organised as a demonstration of solidarity with Gesenius and Wegschneider when it leaked out that afterwards the windows of Tholuck's house were to be smashed. On the following day, the anger of the public was brought to a temporary head so that the *Prorector*²⁷³, one Professor Blume, felt compelled to convey his pestered colleague personally, with the calming support of a company of university *pedells*, to a public lecture, which Tholuck in spite of everything insisted on delivering. In an unexpected move, the *Prorector* himself gave an address to the incensed audience, coming out in great sympathy with the students' wrath by declaring

daß es nichts Empörenderes gebe, als wenn unter dem Deckmantel des Heiligsten, was wir haben, unter dem Deckmantel des Christentums, ein pharisäischer Hochmuth und eine verleumderische Verketzerungssucht sich geltend machen will. Ihre Lehrer bedürfen Ihrer Rache nicht; überhaupt kann hier nicht von Rache die Rede sein, sondern nur von Verachtung, und die überlassen sie ruhig der öffentlichen Meinung.²⁷⁴

²⁷³[pro-vice-chancellor].

²⁷⁴Cited in Bachmann, *Hengstenberg*, vol. 2, p. 191. [that there is nothing more scandalous, then when under the guise of the most sacred, under the guise of Christendom, we have pharisaic arrogance and a slanderous obsession with denunciation assert themselves. Your teachers do not need your revenge; revenge should be out of the question anyway, but only contempt, and that you might well leave to public opinion].

For his message of solidarity Professor Blume saw himself at the same evening serenaded by the student body, whereas Tholuck, who after all was rather a victim of the whole affair, was still exposed to continuing reprisals.

Gesenius's appeal to the Prussian *Kultusminister* was followed a week later, on 9 February, by a lengthy report from the faculty of theology at Halle for which significantly neither Tholuck nor Guericke had been consulted. Far from seeking a neutral position in the affair, the faculty council hit back hard at Hengstenberg and his associates and commented acidly on the defamatory methods of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* against the credibility of its theological opponents.

Zu allen Zeiten hat es verschiedene, in vielen Punkten sich widersprechende theologische Systeme gegeben; doch bei allem Wechsel der Systeme hat das Evangelium nicht aufgehört, sich als eine Kraft Gottes, selig zu machen die daran glauben, zu verherrlichen. Die Wirksamkeit der Prediger war nie von dem oft tödtenden Buchstaben der Schulorthodoxie abhängig, sondern von dem Geiste, der da lebendig macht ... Unsere Universität hat den sprechenden Beweis gegeben, daß Theologen bei aller Verschiedenheit der Systeme in brüderlicher Eintracht leben können ... Muß es nun uns ... nicht schmerzen, wenn wir die Umdriebe Derer wahrnehmen, die in ihren Conventikeln der akademischen Jugend den bösen Geist frömmelnder Unduldsamkeit und Verdammungssucht einflößen.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁵Ibid., p. 195. [At times there have been different and in many ways contradictory theological systems; yet despite all changes of system the Gospel has not ceased to glorify itself as a power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith. The effectiveness of the preachers never depends on the oft killing letter of received orthodox opinion but on the spirit which gives life ... Our university is a proof which speaks for itself that theologians despite all differences of systems can live in fraternal unity ... Must it not hurt, therefore, when we notice the activities of those who in their secretive gatherings instil in academic youth a spirit of false pious rigidity and condemnation.].

In its dramatic appeal for the protection of the university and the academic *Lehrfreiheit*, the faculty's report sharpened the sense of urgency about the whole controversy. It concluded with a clear premonition that there was absolutely no telling yet how damaging the journalistic activities of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* might be in the long term not only for the academic world but in a much wider sense for the Church and even the state and all public life: "da sie das freie Forschen hemmen, Aberglauben fördern, Parteiungen und Spaltungen bezwecken, der Entwicklung eines kräftigen und rüstigen Volksleben entgegentreten, und mit Einem Worte eine sehr traurige Zukunft fürchten lassen."²⁷⁶

On the same day, the faculty's examining board, which was composed almost entirely of the same members as the faculty council, issued a statement to von Altenstein in which it unreservedly came to the defence of Gesenius and Wegschneider against the insinuation of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* that examinees at Halle had ever been discriminated against for their convictions.

Was nun unsre lieben Collegen Wegschneider und Gesenius betrifft, so versichern wir heilig, daß uns in den schriftlichen und mündlichen Prüfungen der Candidaten auch nicht das Allergeringste vorgekommen ist, woraus hervorginge, daß sie, um ihres Systems willen, parteiisch gegen Prüflinge wären oder ihre theologischen Ansichten geltend machten.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶Ibid., p. 196. [because they hinder free research, promote superstition, and aim at party spirit and division, they are an obstacle to the development of a powerful and spirited public life, and in a word suggest fear of a sad future].

²⁷⁷Ibid., p. 194. [As far as our dear colleagues Wegschneider and Gesenius are concerned. we affirm solemnly that not even the slightest little thing happened to us in the written and oral examinations from which it follows that they for the sake of their system had been biased against the examinees or asserted their theological opinions.].

Yet Hengstenberg's journalistic crusade was opposed not only by the Rationalist party and their sympathisers; it was opposed even within the ranks of the Revival Movement. Hengstenberg suffered a severe personal set-back when Neander, his old mentor, in mid-February publicly took the floor. Although from the very beginning a contributor to the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* himself, disillusionment quickly set in. Neander repeatedly expressed private unease to the editor about the rigid course of the journal. On 22 February, he published a small statement in which he publicly disassociated himself completely from the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*. Neander particularly resented the dubious manner in which theological charges had been brought through a journal before the bench of the lay public, which from his viewpoint lacked the theological competence "den Zusammenhang der eigentümlichen wissenschaftlichen Ansichten forschender Theologen mit deren christlichem Leben gerecht zu beurtheilen"²⁷⁸. Moreover, following his Romantic-dialectic understanding of the historical development of the Church,²⁷⁹ Neander categorically disapproved of the benefit of any external intervention.

Jede hier von Außen her einwirkende menschliche Macht, welche eine aus der geschichtlichen Entwicklung hervorgegangene, wenn auch einseitige und falsche Geistesrichtung unterdrücken wollte, würde dem Werke Gottes, das freilich nicht so schnell fortheht, wie es ungeduldiger, menschlicher Eifer verlangt, nur unbesonnener Weise vorgreifen ... dasselbe nur verderben, und, indem sie den Faden der Geschichte gewaltsam durchschneiden wollte, was doch

²⁷⁸Johann August Wilhelm Neander, *Dr. Neanders Erklärung über seine Theilnahme an der Evangelischen Kirchenzeitung nebst rechtfertigender Erklärung der ersteren* [Dr. Neander's Statement on his Colaboration with the Evangelische Kirchenzeitung together with a Justification] (Berlin: Gebrüder Lang, 1830), p. 3. [to do justice to the connection between the characteristic academic opinions of theologians and their Christian lives].

²⁷⁹See chapter 3.3.

keiner menschlichen Macht möglich ist, würde sie nur eine desto gewaltsamere und zerstörende Reaction veranlassen.²⁸⁰

As far as von Gerlach's call for a tighter control over the teaching at the theological faculties was concerned, Neander, for the sake of the spiritual and intellectual welfare of the students, maintained that it was in principle not in the power of man to

die Wahrheit in der Wissenschaft als etwas Fertiggewordenes dem sich entwickelnden Geschlecht zu überliefern. Der eigene Kampf kann hier Keinem erlassen werden. Es wäre das verkehrteste Beginnen, die sich wissenschaftlich bildende Jugend aus den einmal in der geschichtlichen Entwicklung gegebenen Gegensätzen, durch welche sie sich hindurchkämpfen sollen, in eine willkürlich gebildete geistige Umgebung, durch welche sie aus diesen Gegensätzen enthoben werden sollten, hinein versetzen zu wollen ... Sollten die Universitäten der Berührung mit den in der Zeit vorhandenen wissenschaftlichen Gegensätzen durch menschliche Willkür entzogen werden, so würden doch auf die eine oder andere Weise diese Gegensätze, die in der Zeit einmal vorhanden sind, den in der Zeit sich bildenden Theologen entgegentreten und ihnen späterhin desto gefährlicher werden können, je weniger sie darauf vorbereitet worden und je weniger sie zu geistiger Selbstthätigkeit sich zu entwickeln Gelegenheit gefunden hätten.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰Neander, *Erklärung*, p.21-22. [Any power interfering here from outside which intends to suppress a particular attitude of mind which was brought forth by historical development, even though one-sided and wrong, would rashly forestall God's work which indeed does not act as quickly as impatient human zeal demands and would only ruin it; and, by intending to cut by force the thread of history, which is impossible to any human power all the same, it would cause only an even more violent and destroying reaction.].

²⁸¹Ibid., pp. 22-23. [present the truth in academia to the rising generation as a finished product. Here, everyone has to fight his own battle. It would be most wrong to begin to set those young people who are in academic training apart from the disputes which they are told of in historical development and through which they have to fight their way, and place them in an arbitrarily shaped intellectual environment in which they are protected from such controversies ... If the universities evaded contact with the academic arguments of a particular time through human arbitrariness, those conflicts, which are present at that particular time anyway, would nevertheless confront those young people, who are in that particular time in

Neander's passionate defence of the fundamental nature of the *Lehrfreiheit* was echoed by his pupil Karl Ullmann²⁸² (1796-1865) who at the time of von Gerlach's 'denunciation' was professor of theology at Halle (1829-1836). Although he had signed the above mentioned faculty's petition for the protection of Gesenius and Wegschneider, Ullmann did not belong to the Rationalist party but was himself a leading representative of the so-called *Vermittlungstheologie*²⁸³, arguably the most influential church party in the second third of the nineteenth century, which in the tradition of Schleiermacher owed its name to its intermediate position between Liberalism and Confessional theology. In his *Theologische Bedenken*²⁸⁴, Ullmann argued that the ecclesiastical affair at Halle was primarily not at all a controversy about theological and religious systems, rather on a deeper level about "praktische Grundsätze"²⁸⁵, namely the *Lehrfreiheit* and its relation to the system of Protestantism. Ullmann disputed the call of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* for a stricter unity of teaching as an "unrichtige Voraussetzung"²⁸⁶ - within the Protestant Church the principle of unity was necessarily limited by the principle of Christian liberty. Thus the deduction of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* offended against a main principle of Protestantism since it was "immer und ewig gegen den

process of academic formation, and could become later even more dangerous for them the less they had been prepared for them and the less they had been given the opportunity to develop their own intellectual independence.].

²⁸²On Karl Ullmann see RGG 3, vol. 6 (1962), col. 1112.

²⁸³[theology of mediation]. On the *Vermittlungstheologie* see Hirsch, *Geschichte*, vol. 5, pp. 364-430, Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 232-237, RGG 3, vol. 6, cols 1362-1364.

²⁸⁴[theological objections].

²⁸⁵Cited in Bachmann, *Hengstenberg*, vol. 2, p. 254. [practical principles].

²⁸⁶Ibid. [incorrect premise].

Protestantismus, eine Norm aufzustellen, wie die Schrift ausgelegt werden müsse."²⁸⁷

Like Neander, Ullmann strongly objected to the notion of a justified interference of external authority in matters of religion as contrary to the Gospel and indeed the very essence of Protestantism.

Es ist immer eine traurige Verblendung, der Wahrheit durch äußere Mittel zur Hilfe kommen zu wollen; und diese Verblendung hat keinen andern Grund, als Mangel des lebendigen Glaubens an die Wahrheit, des Vertrauens auf ihre innere siegende Kraft. Aber die Wahrheit bedarf solcher Krücken nicht, sie hat stets Kraft genug, sich durch sich selbst Anerkennung zu verschaffen.²⁸⁸

Meanwhile, the repercussions of the 'Halle denunciation' became wider. Even the Prussian king, Friedrich Wilhelm III, had read von Gerlach's article on Rationalism at Halle. The king, who himself took a great interest in religious matters, was in particular indignant about the notion of the 'apparent death of Jesus'. On 14 February, a cabinet order went out to the *Kultusminister* von Altenstein in which the king demanded a thorough investigation into the prevailing state of theology at Halle. The minister who originally had preferred to let the affair about the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* cool down without any fuss now had no other choice but to comply with the royal will, and on 24 February he reluctantly appointed one *Geheimen Regierungsrat*²⁸⁹ Delbrück, a jurist by profession, with the

²⁸⁷Ibid. [for ever and ever contrary to Protestantism to draw up a norm about how Scripture must be interpreted].

²⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 254-255 .[It is always a sad blindness to come to the truth's aid by external means; and this blindness has no other reason than lack of a living faith in the truth and trust in its inner victorious power. Yet truth does not require such crutches; she has always sufficient power through which she can gain herself respect.].

²⁸⁹[privy senior civil servant].

setting-up of an investigative commission for the Halle case. In a revealing letter of the same day to Gesenius and Wegschneider, von Altenstein made no secret of his personal stance in the whole affair: "Das Ministerium darf erwarten, auf diesem Wege die Gelegenheit zu erhalten ... den vollständigsten Schutz gegen fälschliche Anschuldigungen zu gewähren, und fordert Sie deshalb auf, den Erfolg vertrauensvoll ruhig abzuwarten."²⁹⁰

After the examinations of all the persons affected by the affair, where apart from von Gerlach, Gesenius and Wegschneider and several students were heard in connection with the case, Delbrück brought the investigations to a close on 20 March and already a week later, on 27 March presented a final report to von Altenstein. In his report, Delbrück made it clear from the outset that the main concern of the commission was not an investigation into the alleged wrongdoing of the two Rationalist professors but merely an examination of the allegations which von Gerlach had brought forward in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* in order to see whether there was any evidence for a punishable offence which justified any further action. Thus for Delbrück the main question in his investigation was to establish whether Gesenius and Wegschneider "vermöge des theologischen Systems, dem sie zugethan seien, vom Lehrstuhle herab Irrlehren unter den ihrem akademischen Unterrichte anvertrauten angehenden christlichen Theologen verbreiten"²⁹¹. In this context, the commission, apart from the fact that the

²⁹⁰Cited in Bachmann, *Hengstenberg*, vol., 2. p. 199. [The ministry can expect to obtain in this way the opportunity to afford fullest protection against false accusations and therefore asks you to wait calmly and with confidence for success.].

²⁹¹Ibid., p. 208. [according to the theological system to which they subscribed disseminated from their chairs heresies among those budding Christian theologians who were entrusted to their academic instruction].

whole complex of orthodoxy and heresy was an extraordinarily enigmatic matter for non-theologians to judge, faced the formal problem that the legal framework provided no foundation for a prosecution of the offences of which Gesenius and Wegschneider had been accused. All the legal requirements of Prussian law in force relating to this matter only concerned the clergy. For university lecturers in theology no specific regulations were defined or applicable. Moreover, the fact alone that a lecture also contained heretical doctrine was not necessarily already to be regarded as a breach of duty so long as that lecture also set forth the true doctrine, and the instruction therefore attempted to approach theology in its academic entirety.

Wollte man aber fragen, ob der Docent nicht selbst der Irrlehre ausschließlich zugethan, mithin zu besorgen sei, daß er diese vorzugsweise seinen Zuhörern empfehlen, sie mithin für die Irrlehre vorzugsweise empfänglich machen werde, so würde Solches ein Forschen nach individuellen inneren Ueberzeugungen in sich schließen, welches weder ausführbar noch in der evangelischen Kirche für zulässig erachtet worden ist. Diesem Allem zufolge würde einem akademischen Lehrer nur Das als eine vorsätzliche Verletzung seiner Amtspflichten vorgeworfen werden können, wenn er eine Irrlehre nicht nur zum ausschließlichen Gegenstand seiner Vorträge machte, sondern sie mit fanatischer Verketzerung jeder andren Ansicht als die einzig wahre und richtige darstellte, wobei aber noch außerdem unzweifelhaft müßte feststehen können, daß die so von ihm vorgetragene Lehre wirklich eine Irrlehre sei.²⁹²

²⁹²Ibid., pp. 208-209. [If one asked whether the lecturer was not himself entirely devoted to a particular heretical doctrine, it would have to be established whether he recommended it to his audience, whether he wanted to make them receptive to that particular heretical doctrine, and such would include a search for individual inner convictions which are neither implementable nor regarded as permissible within the Evangelical Church. In the light of the proceeding, one could only reproach a university lecturer for a wilful abuse of his official duties if he only made a heretical doctrine the exclusive object of his lectures and presented it with a fanatical denunciation of any other opinion as the only true and right one. Besides it still has to be certain that the presented doctrine is indeed an heretical; doctrine.].

Applied to the charges which the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* had preferred against Gesenius and Wegschneider the report then concluded.

Prüft man hiernach: ob Gesenius und Wegschneider nach dem Ergebnisse der bisherigen Ermittlungen einer unerlaubten Handlung dergestalt verdächtig sind, daß deshalb eine förmliche Untersuchung gegen sie eröffnet werden müßte? so scheinen mir überwiegende Momente zur verneinenden Beantwortung dieser Frage vorzuliegen.²⁹³

On the basis of Delbrück's investigation the ministry subsequently drew up a final report for the king. Yet although a first draft was dated 21 May, von Altenstein postponed the official close of the Halle affair for another three months before he finally presented his report to Friedrich Wilhelm III. Bachmann, not without justification, suggested that in a tactical manoeuvre, the minister had left the matter deliberately to the violent literary controversy over the 'Halle denunciation' to work on the public opinion in order to drive the men of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* "an die Wand"²⁹⁴.

Following in substance the suggestions of the Delbrück-commission, the official report came to the conclusion that the accusations of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* against the alleged heretical teaching of Gesenius and Wegschneider were "als wahr nicht erwiesen worden"²⁹⁵.

²⁹³Ibid., p. 209. [Considering therefore the question whether Gesenius and Wegschneider according to the results of the present examination are suspected of a wrongdoing which requires the opening of a formal investigation, there seems to be overwhelming evidence for a negative answer to that question.].

²⁹⁴Ibid., p. 223. [to the wall].

²⁹⁵Karl Dall, *Die Entwicklung der preußischen Religionspolitik nach Friedrich II. Ein Quellenbuch* (Leipzig: Rothenscheid, 1923), p.48. [were not established as a proven fact].

Moreover, in an attempt to belittle von Gerlach's objection that the state of theology at Halle constituted a threat to the Evangelical Church, the report highlighted the promising development of Protestant theology, emphasising that in the course of the last twenty years there could be seen an incessant progress of true Christian religiousness in Prussia against which "die Stimmen Derer nicht in Betracht kommen können, welche sich herausnehmen, im Namen der evangelischen Kirche ihrem nach individueller Ueberzeugung allein richtigen dogmatischen Systeme das alleinige Lehramt in der Theologie zuzusprechen und Denjenigen, welche ihre Ansicht nicht theilen, christliche Religiosität abzusprechen"²⁹⁶. In a final statement of principle the report seriously questioned the competence of the state to intervene in theological matters. According to the nature of the *Landesherrliches Kirchenregiment*, the responsibility of the princes for the temporal welfare of the Church did not include a responsibility for the theological care of the Church; direct interventions of the state in theological matters had, as history showed, never had the desired effect.²⁹⁷

On 23 September 1830 Friedrich Wilhelm finally issued a cabinet order which at least from a legal viewpoint settled the affair about the 'Halle denunciation'. In a political atmosphere already aggravated by the July Revolution in France and a revolt in Poland, it comes as no great surprise that the king's decision was largely in line with von Altenstein's report. The royal order abstained altogether from taking any disciplinary actions against the accused Halle Rationalists. Yet although Friedrich Wilhelm III,

²⁹⁶Ibid., p. 49. [the voices of those do not matter who have the audacity to award their dogmatic system - which according to personal conviction is alone true - in the name of the Evangelical Church with the sole magisterium within theology and deny the Christian faith of those who do not share their opinion].

²⁹⁷See ibid., p.50.

who personally was well disposed towards the Revival Movement, felt obliged to agree in his decision with the suggestions of his *Kultusminister*, his order nevertheless gave a clear hint of his deep concern for the state of theology at the Prussian universities.

Ohne übrigens auf die Verschiedenheit der dogmatischen Systeme in der Theologie entscheidend einwirken zu wollen, erwarte ich dennoch von allen Lehrern derselben eine würdige Behandlung des heiligen Gegenstandes und auch bei abweichenden Ansichten ein stetes Festhalten des Gesichtspunkts: daß durch ihre Lehrvorträge junge Theologen für die evangelische Kirche gebildet werden sollen.²⁹⁸

Despite the rather low key outcome of the 'Halle denunciation' the decisive effect of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, with its sensational disclosures, on the further course of religious policy in Prussia was nevertheless considerable. For all the king's outward restraint and irresoluteness in his dealing with the ecclesiastical affair which von Gerlach's article had triggered, the Prussian government was determined to exercise in future a far greater control over the theological faculties. In a revealing strictly confidential memorandum of the same date, Friedrich Wilhelm III ordered his Kultusminister to see to it that for any further academic appointments in Prussia the 'orthodox' credentials of the candidates were guaranteed. Because of its rather explosive nature this memorandum was subsequently kept secret until the death of the *Kultusminister* in 1840.

Durch Meine heut an Sie erlassene Cabinets-Ordre habe Ich auf Ihre Anträge über die Anklage wider die Professoren Wegschneider und

²⁹⁸Ibid., p. 52. [Without wishing to influence the variety of the dogmatic systems within theology, I nevertheless expect from all teachers of theology a dignified treatment of the holy subject and even by diverging opinions a continuous emphasis on this aspect: that through their lectures young theologians are to be trained for the Evangelical Church.].

Gesenius entschieden, kann Ihnen jedoch nicht verhehlen, daß, wenn Ich gleich weit entfernt bin, auf die theologischen Wissenschaften und auf den Unterricht in denselben durch directe Maßregeln der landesherrlichen Gewalt einen directen Einfluß auszuüben, Ich dennoch die Vorträge der Lehrer der evangelischen Kirche, die von deren Dogmen, ... wesentlich abweichen, für sehr bedenklich ... halte. Ich kann Ihnen daher nicht dringend genug empfehlen, bei der Wahl der akademischen Lehrer theologischer Wissenschaften Ihre ganze Aufmerksamkeit auf diesen Gegenstand zu richten, und die ernstlichste Sorge zu tragen, daß die Lehrstühle der Theologie auf unseren Universitäten zwar mit wissenschaftlich gebildeten Männern, aber nur mit solchen besetzt werden, von deren Anhänglichkeit an den Lehrbegriff der evangelischen Kirche im Sinne der Augsburgischen Confession Sie hinreichende Ueberzeugung gewonnen haben.²⁹⁹

Originally, the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* was begun by well-known representatives of the North German Revival to gain a greater influence for ecclesiastical conservatism on public opinion. With Hengstenberg as its editor of many years, it became the most powerful organ of nineteenth-century German Protestant conservatism. Yet the damaging consequences of the inquisitorial course of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, notably in the notorious 'Halle denunciation' of 1830, should not be underestimated. In the long term, Hengstenberg's relentless quest for the principles of

²⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 54-55. [By virtue of my cabinet order which I passed to you today I have decided about your request concerning the charges against the professors Wegschneider and Gesenius. Yet I will not conceal from you that, even if I am far from exercising a direct influence through direct measures of my sovereign powers on the theological sciences and education, I nevertheless view the lectures of teachers of the Evangelical Church which considerably diverge from her dogmas ... with great concern. I therefore cannot advise you urgently enough to focus all your attention on this for the election of the academic teachers of the theological sciences and to see to it most earnestly that the chairs of theology at our universities are filled with academically learned men but only with such of whose devotion to the doctrine of the Evangelical Church in accordance with the Augsburg Confession you are sufficiently convinced.].

confessional orthodoxy³⁰⁰ helped enormously to weaken further the unity of the Protestant Churches in Germany, theologically fragmented as they already were anyway. Thus the controversial journalistic wheelings and dealings of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* helped to bring about what Wallmann has called the tragedy of nineteenth-century German Protestantism "daß er in einer Zeit revolutionärer gesellschaftlicher Veränderungen einen erheblichen, wenn nicht den größten Teil seiner Energien auf innerkirchliche Kämpfe gewendet hat"³⁰¹.

³⁰⁰On the Confessional opposition to the critical method see Rogerson, *Criticism*, pp. 79- 90.

³⁰¹Wallmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 215. [that it in a time of revolutionary changes in society devoted a considerable, if not the largest amount of its energies to inner-church conflicts].

4. Conclusion

A more positive judgement on the 'Halle Denunciation' and the neo-Orthodox movement in general would see in it the inevitable reaction of Protestantism to the shortcomings of Rationalism. The return to classical Christian doctrine and to the centrality of Scripture was the intellectual basis for the expansion of German Protestantism, and its Christocentricity was a necessary part of the recovery of a more central kind of Christianity. Even liberal German Protestantism rejected the Rationalist past, under the Romantic influence of Schleiermacher in theology and Hegel in philosophy, and the biblical critics of the Tübingen School developed their discipline in a manner which repudiated as unhistorical the whole Rationalist conception of a universal reason transcending every time and place. As *Sturm und Drang* in the late eighteenth century had opposed Neology, so the whole framework of Romanticism was hostile to Rationalism and led to the collapse of the Rationalist movement by the middle years of the century. Thus Hengstenberg most curiously reinforced the influence of Romantic Idealism in bearing Rationalism to its grave. As the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* wrote in 1854:

What a change has come over the state of things since then! Gesenius and Wegschneider are now, along with the other chiefs of the *vulgar*

rationalism, - Röhr, Bretschneider and Paulus, with their whole theology, - numbered with the dead; and in their place has again risen to the ascendant, a believing, scriptural theology, which, only a few years ago, was scouted and despised as a long defunct superstition, or as a pietistic fanaticism and hypocrisy.¹

Coincidentally, British Romanticism, strongly influenced from Germany by the figure of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, bore a liberal character, but also provided the setting within which Rose's views were to carry such a strong weight within the Church of England, in the form of the Oxford Movement, with its strong affinities with the Romantic reaction in Germany.

It could be said, however, that the orthodoxy reborn of this reaction to the Enlightenment was a new phenomenon, whether represented by Hengstenberg or Rose, not just a return to what went before it, and was only the first of the reactions to the neo-Protestantism of which Rationalism was only the first manifestation. Thus Kierkegaard, English Evangelicalism, the German theology of the Restoration after 1848, the schools which rejected the whole notion of biblical criticism and more recently, the dialectical school whose chief representative was Karl Barth, are all in a kind of indirect relationship to Hengstenberg in their understanding of Protestantism. A large part of the institutional strength of modern Protestantism lies in the Churches and cultures sustained by this reaction, and in the popular movements which are, like

¹*British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, No. 9, vol. 3, 1854.

Hengstenberg, in one way or another, still in a fundamental revolt against the Rationalism of the eighteenth century.

In a sense, Rose's reaction to the Enlightenment has much in common with Hengstenberg's, and indeed he quoted him favourably, but Rose ended up at the other ecclesiastical pole in defining the problem as that of Protestantism itself. The principles of the Reformation are conceived to be the mother and father of the very Rationalism which the neo-orthodox Protestants so deplored. Although there was an unease about Protestantism in the High Church tradition and among Rose's High Church contemporaries, Rose himself represents a decisive turning from Protestantism and defined the basis on which the Tractarians were to depart from Protestantism altogether. Given Rose's conservative temperament and fundamental loyalty to the Church of England, it is highly unlikely that he would have continued down the road to which he quite unintentionally pointed his followers, towards Roman Catholicism. It is much more probable that he would have remained true to his old High Church principles, but perhaps followed them in the same direction as the mature Pusey. We have seen that on the one hand, he belonged with Burgon's older High Churchmen yet there was a radicalism about him which leaves the matter in doubt. Whatever the outcome, he would have continued to assist the process whereby the Church of England moved further still from Continental

Protestantism in defining an Anglo-Catholicism as hostile to Continental Lutherans as to Rome.

What remains as common as in Rose's day is his pessimistic analysis that Protestantism is in some sense self-destructive in begetting a Liberalism which is the end of Christianity. Just as common is the conservative Protestant view of Hengstenberg which equally regards Liberalism as anti-christian and calls for the restoration of the Bible as the foundation of the Christian faith. It is a paradox that these two conservative forms of Christianity, in their purest forms, will have nothing to do with each other.

What has to some degree rescued modern Christianity from this polemical impasse is the modern ecumenical movement, which has made the division between Catholic and Protestant look outdated in Europe especially in the light of the experience of decline which has affected Catholicism quite as badly as Protestantism. The nineteenth-century experience, however, was otherwise, and the churches actually flourished on the basis of a mutual conflict and competition, a competition made worse by national stereotypes. This thesis has tried to show that there is much to be learned from a comparative study of German and English theological history, and that such a study is likely to be most instructive where mutual understandings are most profound. These misunderstandings were the products of a long history in which the Churches of the two countries drifted from one another. If we are to value their

contribution to the creation of the Christianity of their own time, then we must take that in its context, warts and all and should be able to see the unfashionable truth and values for which they were striving, but should also consider the possibility that a further historic process is capable of putting that separation into reverse. An intelligent Ecumenism must start from a knowledge of history before it seeks to change its inheritance from it.

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